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Slovak, Czech Prime Ministers Discuss Relations

LD2001180196 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus met in Bonn today to discuss relations between the two countries. Vaclav Klaus said the two of them briefed each other on the internal political situation and also briefly discussed the demarcation of the Czech-Slovak border.

At the Bertelsmann forum, Slovakia and the Czech Republic expressed similar or identical views.

Albania: Prospects for Forces in Bosnia Viewed

AU2101183696 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 19 Jan 96 p 9

[Article by Enton Abilekaj: "The Parties Cheer the Brilliant Idea"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Let Albanian soldiers go to Bosnia to keep the peace." This generous offer made to Perry by Defense Minister Zhulali met with the support of almost all the Albanian political parties. Hajdaraga for the Socialist Party [PS], Milo for the Social Democrats, and Shehi for the Democratic Party [PD] immediately supported this initiative, without thinking and without saying whether or not they are in favor of NATO membership. "All right," said all the parties, and only the Democratic Alliance [AD] had a problem. After assuring his support for sending Albanian forces to Bosnia, Ceka stressed that the government and Zhulali should realize that there are some things they can support themselves and others that must be decided by parliament. "International practice and existing Albanian legislation demand that any dispatch of Albanian troops abroad, if not for ordinary maneuvers but for a proper military commitment to peace, must inevitably be approved by parliament," the AD leader said. The others have acquiesced, and see no problem. Dokle is sure that his party's official view would be that expressed by Hajdaraga, although the PS has not gathered to formulate an official opinion. Nor did any PD leader ask for a parliamentary debate on Zhulali's initiative, which the president has also supported. Apparently all the Albanian leaders have become NATO-philes and are ready even for this sacrifice. It seems there is no opposition among the Balkan countries. Iljaz Ramajli, ambassador of the Republic of Kosova in Albania, said, "I think that Albania's offer for her soldiers to take part in the peacekeeping in Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Dayton framework is something positive. By signing the Partnership for Peace agreement, Albania also has certain obligations to the North Atlantic alliance. Albania has once again shown her readiness to take part in peaceful operations as far as she is able." Nor is there any opposition from Greece, our neighboring NATO member: A press counselor has stated that there is nothing wrong with the offer, but NATO will have the final say. Meanwhile, there has been no official response from Serbia, although this is expected after a reply from NATO to Albania.

Will Albania's Initiative Have an Influence in the Balkans?

The deployment of Albanian soldiers in disputed Balkan territories will inevitably provoke reactions. In a Balkan situation that is still tense, even after the U.S. intervention, a show of force by Albania would provoke an explicit response. Discussions of the Kosova issue have led to predictions that the conflict may spread to the south of former Yugoslavia. Albania's military commitment in the wake of the just-ended conflict would inflame this conflict's southern flank. This initiative might also have an unfavorable effect on the rumored Kosova-Serbian talks to be held in the presence of a third party. Ramajli objects to this interpretation, saying, "I do not think that these facts are connected. The Albanian soldiers are going as part of Partnership of Peace." Albanian leaders too think similarly. "Albania has signed Partnership for Peace," Dokle says. Ceka too says, "I do not think there is any connection, because the entire future situation in Bosnia has been provided for in the Dayton accords, to which Serbia is a signatory." In fact, there are many political currents in Belgrade against the Dayton accords. This would be all the more the case when Kosova is considered implicated by Albania's promised direct deployment of the Albanian Army.

Albanian Soldiers Under Fire

"Italians Under Fire" was the unanimous headline of all the Italian newspapers when an Italian member of the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia was wounded in the arm. The commitment of Italian soldiers had been debated at length by politicians and in the press. In Greece, NATO's "hunger" for peacekeeping troops was satisfied by volunteers. Many Greeks went voluntarily to the "accused land." Italy had no need for parliamentary support for her decision because she is a NATO member and has a practical obligation to take part in the peacekeeping operation. However, there was no lack of vigorous protest. The Italian press followed the dispatch of the soldiers until the last moment, covering all the pros and cons until they were finally deployed. When an Italian soldier was wounded in the arm a few days later, the country's press shouted "Italians Under Fire," and debate about the commitment of Italian troops revived. The Albanian press could also burst out with "Albanians Under Fire." Politicians of all sides would then have to keep quiet. They proposed and supported sending young Albanian soldiers to the front of a war that could be rekindled at any moment. "If they are killed, they will be killed for the Balkans," Dokle explains. Ceka reasons, "An Albanian soldier can be killed in Albania too. Anyone who holds a weapon while serving in the Armed Forces always faces danger. I see here no deviation from the everyday reasoning of a serviceman, but in this case we are faced with a possibility that requires a constitutional article that parliament must approve." The ruling party has had its say and will no doubt carry the main responsibility for anything that may happen if

NATO accepts Albania's offer. The Albanian soldiers will leave for the war zone, but there is no war for them. There is no war for the Bulgarians, Romanians, and other Balkan peoples who are not in any way involved in the affairs of Bosnia.

Americans in Bosnia Against the Will of Congress

Clinton was the man who quenched the fire in the Balkans. Dayton was another cause won by the United States. The United States was seen by the world to challenge Europe. Clinton achieved the peace, enemies shook hands, and peace spread from the conference table to the ground. There was a need for UN and NATO troops to keep the peace. Each country committed to the Atlantic alliance was required to send troops to an area where the war was said to have ended. But Congress burst out with "Not Americans." The Republicans objected to dispatching 25,000 U.S. troops to face danger. Clinton again decided himself to keep the peace that bears his name. Clinton had good reason. His opponents used the argument of the many Americans sacrificed for the peace of others and also in the United States' war in Vietnam, which Clinton had been against. "I was for peace," the U.S. President had replied to the charges made against him during his campaign against Bush, that he had rejected Vietnam and the interests of his country. Now the number one in the greatest of all states, Clinton is ordering the dispatch of U.S. soldiers to the former front in Bosnia. Training U.S. troops makes it easier for them to confront unexpected situations.

Training Albanian Soldiers

The Albanian peacekeeping force created in early July 1995 has only 40 men. The main criterion for their selection is their height of 1.75 meters and their knowledge of English. They are subjected to a physical test which is the same as for special forces. The Albanians' training program has been coordinated with that of peacekeeping forces throughout the world, and has come to us from NATO. Programs have come from the United States for exercises carried out together with U.S. troops. On 5 August, the first exercises outside Albania took place in the United States itself, from which five servicemen chose not to return. These exercises lasted three weeks, and a second round was held in October. Durres again welcomed the Albanian-U.S. troops under the "Peacekeeping Eagle" operation. Members of the company receive rations equivalent to members of the Air Force and the Navy, and the "angels of peace" receive supplementary pay when they go outside Albania. Despite Zhulali's offer, no special program has arrived, suggesting that NATO will not reply quickly. The 40 men of the Albanian peacekeeping company are not professionals, but can be trained as such. They are, for the moment, citizens performing their military service and their training is minimal. They are closer to the danger zone. They have been proposed to go to the focus of danger in the Balkans.

Albania: Meksi Congratulates Greek Prime Minister

AU1901174796 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi today congratulated the newly elected prime minister of the Republic of Greece. In a telegram sent on behalf of the Albanian Government, Mr. Meksi reconfirmed the will and readiness to strengthen the friendly relations and those of good neighborliness, as well as the desire to raise and actualize them to the highest level.

I hope that, through common efforts, the Greek-Albanian relations will be a model of cooperation in the region and beyond, to the benefit of peace and stability, concludes the Albanian prime minister's telegram to his Greek counterpart Costas Simitis.

Albania: Border Agreements With FYROM Prepared

AU2101183596 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 19 Jan 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Stop the Shots at Border Posts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fewer problems on the Albanian-Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] border: Officials of both countries meeting in Pogradec least Wednesday [17 January] have prepared four agreements on controlling the state border between Albania and FYROM. Consular and legal experts who came from Tirana and Skopje discussed a final text of these agreements. A source in the Albanian Foreign Ministry reports that the documents, now virtually ready for the signatures of the senior state authorities, concern the movements of the population in the areas on both sides of the Macedonian-Albanian border, averting border incidents, removing visas for diplomatic and service passports, the maintenance of border pyramids, and the harmonization of taxes at border crossings. Ministry sources state that these agreements aim to establish a legal basis for border relations between the two states. Consular and judicial specialists taking part in Wednesday's meeting attached special importance to the agreement to avert border incidents, which have several times in the last two years disrupted the atmosphere of goodwill and peace that the countries' highest leaders have encouraged. There have been a significant number of cases in which the border guards of the former Yugoslav republic have returned the corpses of Albanians shot on Macedonian soil. Albania was one of the first states to recognize the independence of FYROM and has consistently declared that FYROM's stability is an important factor for peace in the Balkans. Reliable sources report that the Albanian prime minister will soon pay a visit to Skopje.

Albania: Explosion at Kukes Court Chairman's House

AU2001175396 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] An Interior Ministry spokesman reported yesterday that a load of dynamite exploded outside the house of Kukes District Court Chairman Ramiz Lala on 18 January. The spokesman's preliminary reports confirm that the outside door of the house was damaged from the blast. The policeman guarding the court chairman's house was arrested by the public order guard authorities for not properly carrying out his duty.

The Interior Ministry established 24 hours ago strict security measures for the court chairmen, supplying them with bodyguards. The decision aims to protect many leaders of the Albanian courts from the demands made upon their lives.

Albania: Wheat Supply 'Under Complete Control'

AU2001175496 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The supply of flour factories with wheat is under complete control in all the districts of Albania. According to a telephone conversation between our correspondent and State Reserves General Director Hekuran Skuqi, trucks loaded with wheat continue to arrive every hour from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. So far, 120 metric tons of wheat have been sent to the flour factory in Tirana. Meanwhile, supplies continue to be stored in the state reserve depots in Elbasan, and from there they are distributed to the relevant districts.

Mr. Skuqi clarified that 500 metric tons of wheat are to enter the country every day until the end of the month. This process will continue in February as well, when a ship loaded with wheat is expected to arrive from Romania. There is no objective reason for irregularities in supplying the population with bread. It is noticed that leaders of flour factories or bakeries have a tendency to gather amounts of wheat or flour exceeding the usual norms, thus artificially creating difficulties.

Bulgaria: 'Great Prospects' for FRY Cooperation

LD2101151396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 21 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Jan 21 (TANJUG)—Following the conclusion of the peace agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] played a very important role, great prospects have opened for cooperation in all fields between neighboring Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, Bulgarian Parliament Speaker Blagovest Sendov said.

In an interview with TANJUG's correspondent in Sofia, Sendov said that bilateral relations had stood a difficult test during the period Yugoslavia was subjected to international sanctions, and that both countries had demonstrated a sincere wish to preserve the friendship between the two peoples.

Referring to relations in the Balkans, Sendov said the countries in the region must overcome many prejudices and mistrust and concentrate on all that brings them together. All countries in the region must cooperate to ensure the future of the Balkans in Europe, he said.

In general interest, the Balkan states must play a more independent role in resolving regional problems in all fields, but this does not mean that they should stay apart from the rest of the world, as Balkan states must be integrated in the European family, Sendov said.

For Balkan integration, all countries in the region must show political will for cooperation, especially in economy, as a contribution to European integration process which also includes the Balkans. This is why foreign ministers and other officials of Balkan countries must intensify their contacts at all levels, Sendov said.

Bulgaria: Pavlov Says Romanian Visit 'Successful'

AU1901190396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 19 January, Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov returned from his visit to Romania. The defense minister described his visit as successful.

In Bucharest, Minister Pavlov signed an agreement with the Romanian Government on civil defense cooperation in cases of accidents and disasters and conducted talks with his Romanian colleague Gheorghe Tinca on the prospects of Bulgarian-Romanian military relations.

The possibility of holding a meeting of the Balkan defense ministers was discussed during the talks.

This is what Minister Pavlov told our correspondent Dimitur Dimitrov:

[Begin Pavlov recording] We demonstrated that the possibilities of our defense industry are sufficiently serious and that we could develop a trade exchange in this sphere, which, because of the two countries' financial difficulties, could be based on barter.

Since both countries are interested in modernizing the weapons and equipment used by their armies, we could also develop cooperation in the sphere of military-scientific research. Cooperation in this sphere appears to be very promising. We could also exchange ideas and develop joint projects, something that could help us to cut expenditures. [end recording]

Bulgaria: Arms Trade Official Considers Prospects

AU2001174696 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 16 Jan 96 pp 12-14

[Interview with Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of Interdepartmental Council on the Military-Industrial Complex and Mobilization Readiness, by Vasil Pavlov; place and date not given: "United States and Russia Do Not Oppose Bulgaria's Participation in Post-COCOM"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pavlov] Mr. Kolev, is there any truth in what certain newspapers say; that the weapons for the so-called Indian affair [illegal arms consignment allegedly of Bulgarian origin seized by Indian authorities] were loaded in Burgas?

[Kolev] I have no further comment to make regarding the Indian affair. We are ready to offer full cooperation to clear up the affair if India asks for it. I state categorically that Bulgaria has not exported any contraband weapons to India. It is a well-planned provocation, aimed at restricting our influence in certain markets. We cannot be responsible if someone who has purchased Bulgarian arms from other states smuggles them into India.

[Pavlov] In the last few years, several arms scandals have come to light: the affair in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and the Yemeni, Albanian, and Rwandan ones. Can we accept that the Indian affair is the latest link in the deliberate policy followed by interested business circles?

[Kolev] I would not connect these affairs into a chain, because I need access to reliable information on them. There is no doubt that Bulgaria's name has been linked with illegal arms deliveries—to Rwanda some time ago and now to India. The purpose of this is very simple; it is aimed at maintaining a negative image of our country. However, I believe that our partners in both the East and the West understand well that Bulgaria is following a new policy in the arms trade. We are not giving up trading in arms, but abide strictly by the international requirements and accords.

[Pavlov] Recently there has been talk about a neo-COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls]. First, in Bulgaria, there is complete political consensus regarding us joining post-COCOM. This is a new organization in which the countries invited to become cofounders have differing ideas regarding the issues of information and the directions in which special products should be exported. We have made considerable efforts to satisfy this organization's membership requirements. We have held consultations with the United States, Russia, and almost all of the former Warsaw Pact countries. It has become clear that there are no obstacles to Bulgaria being invited to join. Quite the contrary, we possess a legislative foundation for controlling the arms trade that conforms fully to the international requirements. The National Assembly recently passed a law on this type of business. We maintain no contacts and do not supply arms of any kind to states under an arms embargo. We follow a clear and open policy for our defense industry, and I believe that the time is not far off when we will be invited to join post-COCOM.

[Pavlov] Who is now authorized to trade in special products, and why did Teraton and Armimex have their licenses revoked?

[Kolev] At present, two types of license are issued in Bulgaria: A full license that permits the import and export of special products and a restricted license that allows either export or import. Kintex and Elmetengineering hold full licenses, while restricted licenses are held by major manufacturers and trading companies in the military-industrial complex. The Defense and Interior Ministries hold restricted licenses for imports. A full license is about to be granted to Armimex, following its restructuring. Regarding Armimex, I ought to say that the government, as part of its actions to develop the defense industry and exercise control over the arms trade, decided last fall to revoke the licenses, because Armimex and Teraton had carried out operations to the detriment of the state. I do not want to make any comment now, but the decisions were not arbitrary.

[Pavlov] You have said that for us to join post-COCOM and be competitive regarding other countries, we have to develop the military-industrial complex. Could you tell us about the real state of the complex at present?

[Kolev] The model for our military-industrial complex was created to meet the needs of the Bulgarian Army, which, in the best years, took delivery of 10 percent of our production, while the rest was consigned for export to the former Warsaw Pact countries and other partners. After 1989, the military-industrial complex lost certain markets. We Bulgarians are fond of destroying things that we should not. We voluntarily gave up cooperating with partners that showed interest in this. A mass purge of experienced specialists was carried out. For example, the crisis in the Arsenal plant in 1992 was artificially created, because an entire team there was replaced unnecessarily and people were brought in who were incapable of managing the plant.

[Pavlov] According to press reports, at that very time, the military-industrial complex was administered by Filip Dimitrov's advisers. Are the claims that Aleks Aleksiev is mainly to blame for the collapse of our defense industry true?

[Kolev] I cannot comment on what is written in the newspapers, and, in any case, I do not know these people personally and have never spoken to them. For me, what is important is that the policy was wrong. The defense industry is a complicated sector that mirrors the problems of the transition and of society. We were not wise enough to protect the military-industrial complex from these shocks, but perhaps that was preordained.

[Pavlov] How high are the defense companies' debts?

[Kolev] I cannot commit myself to giving an up-to-date figure. However, despite the government program and the encouraging results in 1994 and last year, the recovery of the defense industry will be a long and very difficult process.

[Pavlov] Yes, but a paradox exists here: The military-industrial complex is up to its ears in debt, yet goods worth billions of leva lie in the company warehouses.

[Kolev] It is true that there are products in the warehouses. I estimate that they are worth about $100 million. However, last year, the international business climate showed a decline for the types of weapons that we produce.

Of course, we do have some amounts in store. Elsewhere in the world, some companies deliberately hold stocks of finished products and seek an opportune moment to dispose of them. I would like to stay that stocks were high in 1993, but the warehouses emptied in 1994. It is important for us to sign export contracts that ensure regular payments. The companies need fresh money, and not only for production. Control systems are extremely expensive throughout the world, and new types of weapons are appearing on the markets, such as high-performance shells, high-tech products, and infrared homing ground-to-air missiles. We have to invest in these areas.

[Pavlov] Generally speaking, there are two standards—NATO's and Russia's. Is the military-industrial complex prepared to work to Western standards?

[Kolev] There are no technical or organizational obstacles to Bulgaria manufacturing weapons with standard NATO calibers. For example, we make 7.62-mm and 5.45-mm Kalashnikov submachineguns. The NATO caliber is 5.56-mm, which is no problem for us to produce. However, the question is to whom are we to sell the weapons. We have to get the orders first. I have talked to representatives of certain major Western countries and, on behalf of the interdepartmental council, have proposed starting to work together. I am sure that partners and business proposals will materialize.

[Pavlov] Will this mark the start of rearming the Bulgarian Army in conformance with NATO standards?

[Kolev] It is possible for our Army to convert to the NATO standard, but I can certainly say that this is not possible during the next 15 to 20 years. At the same time, it can hardly be asserted that NATO weapons are better than the ones that we sell. Therefore, I say that we must follow an intelligent, future- oriented, and balanced policy. The chief goal is to create an economically prosperous defense industry that employs tens of thousands of people, to meet the Army's needs, and to sell abroad at a profit.

[Pavlov] For several years, there has been a high level of social tension in the defense plants. At Arsenal, the workers are preparing to strike because of redundancies. Has the system managed to retain the skilled workers, and to what extent can the trade unions interfere in your work?

[Kolev] Since the world recognizes our specialists, this means that, at long last, we should raise their self-esteem, but without overestimating our abilities. We must conduct a dialogue with the unions. However, I hold a certain strong view that should form the subject of a different interview. In certain plants, the talks with the unions have not been constructive; their demands are divorced from reality. However important the defense industry is, it cannot be placed on a pedestal, and we cannot accept claims that are not in line with wage levels in other sectors.

[Pavlov] It recently emerged that a military repair plant had not received hundreds of millions of leva from its contracting partners. We claim to have repair facilities and specialists to maintain expensive equipment, but are we utilizing them?

[Kolev] You raise a very important topic. Bulgaria has excellent facilities for repairs and supporting the Defense Ministry, such as the aircraft repair plant in Plovdiv, the Fleet Arsenal in Varna, and the plants in Sofia. They have good specialists, and I do not believe that they will be hoodwinked. At present, the business climate is improving regarding orders for the military plants. However, the overall financial and economic state of the military-industrial complex continues to be serious.

[Pavlov] The failure of Agrobusinessbank and its purchase by the Bulgarian National Bank for 1 lev was connected with the defense plants' indebtedness and the risk of their privatization.

[Kolev] People in Bulgaria say a lot of things. I do not believe that the reason for the failure was the debts that the defense plants owed the bank. I can say that the Sopot military engineering plant owes almost nothing to Agrobusinessbank. The main problem concerns the loan indebtedness of the defense industry as a whole.

[Pavlov] Good, but are not the politicians most responsible for the chaos in the military-industrial complex, in failing to draft a military political doctrine that is acceptable to all the parties?

[Kolev] Look here, the issues of Bulgaria's foreign policy are clear, and weapon sales must be made subordinate to it. However, to talk about some special doctrine for the military-industrial complex and for it to be adopted as a dogma seems unrealistic to me. It is more pragmatic to develop a system of measures and programs that can be financed. When people talk about the interdepartmental council, they say is job consists of issuing licenses to trading companies. I realize that this aspect attracts most attention, but its other functions are ignored. Take military technical cooperation, for example. We have reestablished our relations with Russia, and the joint commission has held two sessions. The Russian debt of $50 million has been settled. We have restored our relations with India and developed a joint working program. The first meeting of the Bulgarian-Ukrainian commission is about to take place. In addition, the system of state orders has started operating. The army's priorities are being defined in line with the draft budget. A program is under discussion for modernizing defense industry production for the period to the year 2010, in conformance with the Bulgarian Army's requirements for new types of weapons. No one in the world would buy a weapon that is not used in the producer's country.

[Pavlov] We started this interview by discussing the Indian affair, that is, unfair competition in the arms trade. Which clients does Bulgaria count on?

[Kolev] We have not turned our backs on our Arab partners, but there we are strictly observing the embargo.

India is showing very great interest in cooperation. In the very near future, we will reactivate our work with Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary. We are working well with our neighbors and, after the removal of the embargo, we will restore our links with Serbia and Macedonia. We ourselves have stated our wish to work in closer cooperation with the United States, France, England, and Germany. However, the main thing is for us to assess our possibilities realistically and not to underestimate them.

Bulgaria: Ex-Deputy Prime Minister on Resignation

AU1801175296 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 13 Jan 96 p 5

[Interview with Ex-Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev by an unidentified correspondent on Bulgarian National Radio's Khorizont Program; place and date not given: "An Atmosphere of Doubt Existed in the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tsochev] At this stage, it is necessary to draw up a balance, to make an assessment of my actions.

On 4 January I handed the prime minister a request to be relieved of my post, in connection with considerations and problems of a personal nature; my application to resign was drawn up in accordance with Article 84, paragraph 6, of the Constitution, and I also submitted a copy to the chairman of the National Assembly, because the National Assembly has to accept it. On 5 January, the motion of no confidence in the government was moved in parliament, in connection with the release of grain and flour for export without guaranteeing supplies for domestic consumption. This made it necessary for me to remain absolutely silent for seven days. Although, since the beginning of the year, I have had permission granted for regular leave, I was obliged to be with my colleagues in the parliamentary debating chamber during the debates and to express both my personal viewpoint and that of the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Cooperation that I led regarding the grain problem. I hope that I accomplished this successfully. As I have already had the opportunity to state, my resignation has nothing whatsoever to do with the grain problem; it is based on other reasons, and for this reason, I did not want to make any comment immediately prior to the no-confidence vote or afterwards. I had been thinking of resigning for a long time, and I would even say that my resignation was overdue, but I have no liking for sensations, so let us not look for one, particularly in matters that happen in the natural course of events. I have always tried to be open in my actions and to make them public knowledge. To put it simply, I have nothing to hide; I have been brought up to believe that truth and goodness, truth and justice exist.

I will be telling you nothing new when I state my view that truth in itself serves no one and no thing, but they serve it. Truth must be defended and proclaimed. At this moment, what I can say is to tell you honestly and frankly that I leave my post somewhat distressed by the fact that certain things have not only not been brought to their proper conclusion, but have not even been fully clarified. Of course, I myself am also to blame for not being able to devote enough time or attention to the problems in all my departments, which, I admit, were far from easy ones.

[Correspondent] How did your meeting with the prime minister go?

[Tsochev] My meeting with Zhan Videnov went quite normally in an atmosphere of frankness. We parted like good colleagues, perhaps even as future friends; that is, the prime minister accepted my motives, and this was not our first conversation of this nature—it may have been the third or fourth.

[Correspondent] Did you reach a mutual understanding?

[Tsochev] I hope that I was understood.

[Correspondent] The fact that you were not understood regarding the grain problem is clear, although you strove to explain that your ministry played no part in the conclusion of any deals.

[Tsochev] My actions have been transparent. I submitted all the documentation on the grain problem to the Chief Prosecutor's Office at their request. There is nothing hidden in our ministry, everything is open, precise, and clean. As for my attempts to sound out future intentions to conclude deals on grain from the state reserves, not by the Ministry of Trade, which has no such functions, this question has been politicized and debased to the level of political demagogy. Such demagogy exists in parliament over the whole political spectrum, from the center to the left and to the right.

[Correspondent] You are a self-critical person, and this is evident from your present statement. Do you regard yourself as not merely misunderstood, but even hoodwinked as regards the question of the grain balance?

[Tsochev] If any figures in the official grain balance are incorrect, then incorrect actions must also have occurred. The future will show. However, if the grain balance is proved, signed, and sealed by two different institutions, and if this is demonstrated during the debates in parliament, then the grain problem will be solved. Even though I want to be frank, in my heart of hearts I do harbor doubts regarding certain things that disturb me.

[Correspondent] Is it a coincidence that the deputy prime minister and trade minister before you, Valentin Karabashev—another of your colleagues—also resigned? Is this a very hot seat that one man can only keep by making many compromises?

[Tsochev] Karabashev resigned for certain precise reasons, because he disagreed with the government's policy regarding mass privatization. The reasons for my resignation were quite different.

An atmosphere of doubt existed, and many of the things that I initiated developed in a particular way. This was what disturbed me, and this was one of the reasons why I decided that it was simply no longer necessary for me to remain in this post. I am not afraid of hot seats, I have never been afraid, and, as I approach the age of 50, it seems to me that, in a future situation that is calmer and more reasonable, I may well return to politics.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, you have not given the main reasons.

[Tsochev] I will explain them when I write my report. I will extract a few sentences that will form the heading of my report.

[Correspondent] I appreciate that your feelings are strong at this moment.

[Tsochev] This is quite normal and natural when you have worked rather hard for a whole year....

[Correspondent] What good things should I wish you?

[Tsochev] Most of all, good health.

[Correspondent] We wish you this, and also hope that everyone will understand you and discover the reasons in your report so there will be no other similar resignations.

[Tsochev] In Bulgarian political life, we still have not learned what political ethics are. It is very easy to discredit someone, and, in my opinion, this is one of the faults of the Bulgarian. He should not regard someone who leaves a government as a potential has-been. Unfortunately, this always happens in Bulgaria—when you leave politics, you have to be discredited and made to end up as a political corpse to stop you from making a comeback. I am still a realist, so a long time will pass before I venture to assume this cross for perhaps a third time, as it is a very heavy one.

Bulgaria: Opposition Parties View Political 'Crisis'

AU2001175296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 19 January, responsible representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the People's Union, and the Rights and Freedoms Movement conducted consultations at the National Assembly building on topical political issues.

After the meeting, Petur Stoyanov [SDS deputy] said: We expressed the uniform opinion that a cabinet crisis is underway, and that it could also mark the beginning of a possible parliamentary crisis.

It became clear that the opposition is rather cautious in forecasting the precise timing of such a crisis, but it poses itself the task of facilitating its beginning.

Additional political consultations will follow, at which the parties will specify the methods of the parliamentary opposition activity in this direction.

Only a short time was devoted during the consultations to the upcoming presidential elections. The common opinion was expressed that nominating a single presidential candidate improves the chances of success.

Bulgaria: Military Council Discusses Army Discipline

AU1801192596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 January, Tsvetan Totomirov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, analyzed the state of discipline in the Bulgarian Army at an expanded meeting of the General Staff Military Council.

In the analysis, it was pointed out that, as a whole, the number of violations and accidents in the Bulgarian Army in 1995 decreased in comparison with the past, something that is the result of the strict measures that have been adopted to improve discipline.

The comprehensive situation in the country, characterized by crime and antisocial incidents, has been pointed out as an important factor that influences discipline in the Army.

At the end of the meeting, General Totomirov announced his decree that Lieutenant Colonel Yordan Kovachev has been dismissed from the Army. Kovachev was commander of the unit in Studena Village where, during the night between 7 and 8 January, soldiers beat Private Karagyozov to death.

A proposal has been made to make military trials public and to ask the soldiers who have been elected spokesmen of their units to attend the trials.

Col. Pancho Shushkov, from the Department of Training Troops and Armies at the General Staff, has stressed that this public character of the trials is necessary in order to turn them into a preventive measure against new violations.

Czech: President Discusses Czech-German Relations

LD2101173296 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1316 GMT 21 Jan 96

["Regular Sunday" interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Eva Hulkova on 21 January on the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hulkova] President, during the last week, we here at home focused on foreign policy. It is becoming obvious that the Czech-German issue is very complex and has many repercussions. Rather than talking about particularities, I would like to ask you whether we can expect that topics such as this will become the subject of preelection skirmishes and how people should approach such situations. How careful should they be?

[Havel] The issue must be viewed in a broader context. It concerns the yet-unresolved and in a way very serious problem between the Czech Republic and Germany. However, it is not a matter of (?special) importance. We are capable of living side by side even without this [joint Czech-German declaration] and even without this issue being resolved, or without taking any steps leading to the solution to this problem. We enjoy good relations with Germany, and Germany supports our integration into European structures and so on. Hence, all of the commotion concerning this issue is somewhat unnecessary. At stake are the words used in the declaration, although these are quite important words.

In my view, it would not serve any good purpose if this issue becomes the topic of the election campaign. Some people will undoubtedly want to have it that way.

The position of the main Czech political forces or constitutional institutions is clear. To put it simply, we want the German Government to express in some way its political will not to revive legal, property, and similar issues linked to the postwar deportation [of Germans from Czechoslovakia]. At the same time, we are able to take a more critical stance on the deportation. One thing is linked to another; one cannot happen without the other. We will not go on endlessly criticizing the deportation only to see that somebody is coming up with more and more claims, that somebody keeps reviving these issues and even uses them as a pretext to putting forward more claims. In fact, as for the text, the issue is simple because the wording [of the declaration] is ready, and the struggle concerns some particular words.

All of the commotion is good in the sense that it shows both sides are interested in the issue and have a certain willingness to ease the burden in our bilateral relations. On the other hand, it is not too good because, in fact, it probably makes the confidential talks on the text [of the declaration] more difficult. Once the text is finalized, this commotion will become absurd because the text will be put to public and parliamentary debate. Hence, the commotion is somewhat premature.

I am concerned to some extent that the issue will be exploited in the preelection period by nationalists on both sides. It is the cheapest and easiest thing one can do—beat one's chest and say I am the proud Czech who will not give way to bad foreigners. That is the cheapest trick one can play. I would like to ask voters to beware of such people as soon as they start such shouting. Our diplomacy protects Czech interests in a diplomatic, adequate, reasonable, and responsible way. Shouting does nothing but raise temperatures, from which nothing good will result. Nor does it strengthen Czech pride; rather, it does the opposite. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] [Passage omitted] Can you tell us anything about your wife, Olga? Can you say anything to people who worry about her and you?

[Havel] Unfortunately, my wife's health condition is very serious. One could even say critical. You can imagine what it means to me. I have been sharing my life with her for 30 years now, and she has been my support through all things good and bad. However, that is my problem, and I have to cope with it. I would only like to thank the public for its interest in the health of my wife. People keep calling, they want to help, they send flowers, write nice letters. Thanks for that.

[Hulkova] Thank you, Mr. President.

Czech: Czech Prime Minister Arrives in Bonn

LD1901211596 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus today took a resolute stance against Czech-German relations being turned into a drama. On his arrival in Bonn, where he is taking part in the Bertelsmann Forum on European integration, Klaus said relations between the two countries were good and standard and that the emphasis on problems was harmful. He denied claims that talks on the joint Czech-German Declaration had failed or had resulted in a deadlock.

At the same time, Klaus said he personally did not expect that an agreement would be reached before the elections in our country. He stressed that long-term improvement of Czech-German relations was essential and that there was no radical solution to problems anyway.

Czech: Poll on Political Orientation of Citizens

AU2001165296 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by "drb": "People Mostly Place Themselves in the Right or Center of the Political Spectrum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—In the Czech Republic, 17 percent of the population classifies itself as being of right-wing orientation. Together with the right center (21 percent), it represents the most numerous group of respondents. This transpires from the latest survey of the Institute for Public Opinion Research [IVVM].

Approximately one in three citizens (32 percent) identifies in his or her political conviction with the center. A total of 6 percent considers itself to be expressly left-wing, and 11 percent leans toward the left center. The remaining 13 percent of replies belonged to the "do not know" category. The IVVM claims that the "self-classification" of those polled can be considered stable from the long-term point of view. A right-wing orientation and a strong center remain prevalent.

The center has grown almost 10 percent stronger among young people up to age 20 (to 32 percent) and in the 45-59 age bracket (to 36 percent) since the last survey. Residents of Central Bohemia and North Moravia show above-average identification with the center (39 percent). Endorsement of the right wing tends to be more frequent among secondary school graduates (45 percent) and university graduates (52 percent). Men (43 percent), too, are more right-wing than women (34 percent). One in six women is unable to classify herself. Among voters of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], there has recently been a substantial drift from the center to the right, while, among voters of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], the left center is becoming stronger.

How do you classify yourself on the political scale? (Dec '95)

	Percent
Extreme left	1
Left	5
Left center	11
Center	32
Right center	21
Right	14
Extreme right	3

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 18 January on page 3, under the headline "Growing Proportion of the Satisfied," carries the following report by "mrk" on the IVVM December poll: "According to an IVVM survey, 47 percent of the population of the Czech Republic was satisfied with the present political situation in December, while 46 percent was dissatisfied. A comparison of the results of this survey, which has been conducted for two years, shows that the proportion of citizens who are satisfied with the political situation is rising. In 18 months, since July 1994, it has increased by 7 percent. The share of those who are dissatisfied is declining proportionately."]

Slovakia: HZDS Daily Concerned About SIS Leaks

AU2001194396 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Jan 96 p 1

[Commentary by Miroslav Sasky in the "Public Matter" editorial column]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have already written that the abduction of Michal K. Jr. abroad is used by the opposition not only as a whip against the prime minister and the government (as illustrated by the accusations leveled against them by Jan Carnogursky and Michals K.—senior and junior), but also as a welcome pretext for attacks on the Slovak Information Service [SIS], motivated probably by former SIS members' longing for their lost posts. Latest developments confirm this suspicion.

The public learns every day from the mass media that "the Slovak secret service is internally putrefied and works amateurishly" (Jan Langos), that its members "are shadowing secret witness, Oskar F.'s friend, and SME editor" (is this another proof of the SIS's amateurishness or of paranoia?), or that it uses primitive tricks to bug telephones (the prosecutor is given the telephone number of a different person, which differs in only one digit from the number of the person the SIS really wants to bug, and, after the SIS obtains the prosecutor's consent, they "err") (Ladislav Pittner).

The endeavor to call the SIS into question is evident, and I must admit that I, too, have had my doubts at times. What kind of a secret service is it when anyone—Ladislav Pittner, for example—can draw information "from its environment"? Why does it employ such dilettantes that, while engaging in surveillance, they are identified by every little scribbler? How could it possibly recruit an expert such as Oskar F. [SIS agent who confessed his participation in the kidnapping of President Kovac's son]? There are many more questions that come to mind, but the answer to all of them is the same: Something must be done. The best thing would be to give the SIS a good "airing" so that the air becomes fresher there.

It is obvious why General Pittner rejoiced over the refusal of Westinghouse to deliver to the SIS a lie detector, which could have been of help in this airing. With its help, it would have been easy to find out who is disclosing information, who is cooperating with those who long to return, like Lassie, the collie, who is sabotaging the work of his colleagues.... However, this surely would not please our constructive opposition and former SIS chiefs Messrs C. and M. [allusion to former intelligence chief Igor Cibula and former SIS Director Vladimir Mitro]. If the claim is true that the U.S. firm refuses to supply this interesting equipment as long as the present Slovak Government is in power, it also bears witness to something. But certainly not to what Ladislav Pittner is trying to make the public believe.

Slovakia: Opposition MP Views SIS Activity

AU2001194096 Bratislava SME in Slovak 17 Jan 96 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Ladislav Pittner, MP for the Christian Democratic Movement and former Slovak interior minister, by Peter Toth; place and date not given: "Ivan Lexa Suspects Dezider K. of Informing the Prime Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 11 December, Deputy Ladislav Pittner addressed a written interpellation to Prime Minister Meciar through the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Office, in which he raised six questions concerning unlawful activities by the Slovak Information Service [SIS].

[Toth] Have you received a reply to your interpellation?

[Pittner] No. Prime Minister Meciar did not meet the obligation, stipulated by law, to reply to the interpellation within 30 days. My interpellation caused an uproar not only among opposition deputies, but also among coalition constitutional officials. The SIS leadership has come in for severe criticism from coalition representatives.

[Toth] A number of people suspect that their telephones are being bugged by SIS....

[Pittner] I have received information from the SIS environment about how one goes about bugging telephones. Wiretapping is being legalized in full conformity with the law. The trick is that the prosecutor or judge who is asked to approve the bugging is given misleading information. The judge is given the telephone number of some person other than the one in which SIS is interested. He gives his consent in good faith. The telephone number the judge is given differs only in the last digit. A technician then manipulates the wiretapping in such a way that he "errs" and bugs a telephone that differs from the requested number by only one digit.

[Toth] How does SIS cooperate with the intelligence services of other states?

[Pittner] According to information I have received, Ivan Lexa refused to cooperate with representatives of intelligence services that operate in Slovakia legally in the struggle against organized crime. His ostentatious orientation toward the Russian special services is discrediting them, in fact. The impression is created that the

Russian intelligence services were the only ones interested in cooperation with SIS. The intention to send to Moscow the government jet with a group of SIS members was leaked to the press. They are now solving this in such a way that only the SIS director, the directors of intelligence and counterintelligence, and two or three other staffers are supposed to go there. Because of the incompetence of the SIS leadership, even this has now become public knowledge. It is only a question of time before the Russian special services decline such cooperation with many thanks.

[Toth] SIS is supposedly collecting compromising materials about various people. Have your sources from the SIS environment informed you about this as well?

[Pittner] I have learned from these sources that some activities of the surveillance section are visible and serve to intimidate the person under observation. In cases where it is possible to shadow the constitutional official in question in a covert, professional way, SIS proceeds as in the case of a certain constitutional official from the city K. in East Slovakia. He is being shadowed by the surveillance unit from Banska Bystrica so that even his bodyguards cannot identify it. A special assignment in SIS is being carried out by Colonel Dezider K., who is analyzing the archives of the former StB [communist-era secret service] and other intelligence services. His task is to find out whether it is possible to obtain compromising materials about coalition or opposition constitutional officials or church representatives or to fabricate such material on the basis of obtained findings. SIS Director Ivan Lexa and Counterintelligence Director Colonel Jaroslav S. suspect that Colonel Dezider K.'s true task is to monitor their activity and report on it to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

[Toth] In your interpellation you voiced the fear that certain equipment might be purchased for SIS....

[Pittner] According to information from the SIS environment, Director Lexa asked the U.S. firm Westinghouse in a covert form, through a certain Slovak foreign trade firm, to supply radio communications equipment that would be unintelligible to a chance recipient, in the case of bugging. This equipment is provided with encoding and decoding technology. Ivan Lexa also asked for the delivery of a lie detector, to be used first on security personnel and later on coalition officials. Westinghouse turned down Lexa's request. I am curious whether the SIS director will inform the prime minister about the rejection of his request. It is based on the statement that, as long as this government exists, such equipment will not be sent to the Slovak Republic.

[Toth] According to information leaks, several members of the SIS surveillance section have been dismissed in an unlawful manner. Do you have any information about any further dismissals?

[Pittner] The information has been making the rounds for quite some time that two-thirds of SIS employees have been dismissed from the counterintelligence and surveillance sections. New staff is being hired. According to a statement made by the leadership at one meeting, only an eighth of the personnel is operational. The rest have to be either trained or even recruited. Distrust within SIS is growing. Colonel Jaroslav S., the director of counterintelligence, is trying to establish his own surveillance and analytical departments so as not to be under the control of the central surveillance and analytical sections, which are managed by SIS Director Ivan Lexa. The distrust even transcends SIS boundaries. According to the same sources, a certain state institution has a secret account, in which up to 2 billion korunas was deposited in December 1995. These funds are to be made available to a certain political entity according to instructions of the leader of this entity. It is remarkable that Ivan Lexa recruited the female worker who administered this account for SIS under very advantageous conditions. It is appropriate to ask what aim SIS Director Ivan Lexa is pursuing with this and whose activity he is monitoring. It is only a question of time before not only the opposition and coalition constitutional officials, but also the coalition's leading representative himself will consider it intolerable for SIS to continue working in this way.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 18 January on page 9, under the headline "Slovak Ex-Minister Attacks SIS," carries a 600-word report by Karol Wolf, the daily's Bratislava correspondent, on the SME interview with Ladislav Pittner. Instead of providing initials for the names, Wolf refers to the chief of SIS counterintelligence as Jaroslav Svechota and to the SIS officer analyzing StB archives as Dezider Kona. Wolf concludes his report by saying: "The SIS head office yesterday refused to comment in any way. Magda Pospisilova, the Slovak prime minister's spokeswoman, merely stated that the prime minister would reply to all questions on 8 February, when the interpellations were on the parliament's agenda."]

Slovakia: Bisak: 252 Companies Privatized in '95

AU2001193896 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 17 Jan 96 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Slovak Privatization Minister Peter Bisak by Eleonora Bujackova; place and date not given: "The Ministry Is Not Lacking in Power"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Bujackova] In one of his speeches, the prime minister said that there would not be peace under the olives on Slovak land until the last square inch of the country has been privatized. What is your assessment of the development trends in privatization?

[Bisak] One can, of course, agree with that statement because we are living in a historic period, in which new proprietary relations are coming into being, in which property of the state created in the past is being redistributed. [passage omitted]

As for the time frame formulated by the prime minister, that the second wave of privatization should be wound up by 30 June 1996, for us it means to assess and prepare privatization projects for approximately 300 companies in five months. It needs to be said that, when this government was assuming office, there were many doubts about the privatization process. There were fears that privatization would be slowed down or even halted. Our results prove that the opposite is the case. The property of 252 companies worth approximately 63 billion korunas [Sk] was privatized in 1995. The present pace and the highly active approach by the Slovak Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property bear out that the assumption is realistic that the second wave of privatization will be successfully completed in the first half of 1996, in conformity with the targets laid down by the government. Provided the other parties involved in the privatization process actively cooperate, the Slovak Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property is ready to prepare the privatization projects, assess them, and pass them to the National Property Fund of the Slovak Republic for implementation by the set deadline.

Hungary: Keleti Discusses Aims of Yugoslav Tour

LD2201105996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti is to start his three-day Yugoslav tour today. Before his departure, I asked him about his negotiating partners and the topic of his talks.

[Begin recording] [Keleti] The tour will start in Belgrade, where there will be a meeting with the Yugoslav defense minister and some of his deputies. We would like to discuss the situation after the end of the embargo. The same issues will be discussed with the Croatian defense minister, too. A meeting with him is planned to take place on Tuesday afternoon [23 January].

In addition to bilateral relations, naturally, the presence of Hungarian soldiers will be at the center of attention. I think, that as a result of these talks, I will be able to invite both the Yugoslav and the Croatian minister to Budapest, where we may be able to conclude a cooperation agreement similar to those concluded with other neighboring countries.

[Announcer] During your visit, will you have talks with commanders who have been declared war criminals by the Hague International Court?

[Keleti] Of course not. But we would like to meet with some representatives of the Bosnian Government during our Sarajevo visit. I think these will be the first official contacts between the two countries' governments. According to plans, in Sarajevo I will also meet with Admiral [Leighton] Smith, supreme commander of the IFOR [Implementation Force] mission, the commander of the rapid reaction corps, and the technical chief who will be the direct commander of the Hungarian IFOR soldiers.

[Announcer] As far as I know, you will also visit Okucani [the Hungarian IFOR unit's base in Croatia] on your way home.

[Keleti] Yes, this the plan for Wednesday [24 January]. Colonel-General Janos Deak, commander of the Hungarian army, and I will visit Okucani on the way home from Zagreb on Wednesday morning. I will decide on the date of the Hungarian unit's departure [for Okucani] only after this, because it is very important for us to see the state of the base and to make sure that, by the time the Hungarian soldiers get there, they will find a satisfactory level of comfort. [end recording]

[Hungarian radio's correspondent in Belgrade] Szilveszter Varga brings further details on the defense minister's talks:

[Varga] The questions of how Hungary and Yugoslavia could,—following the lifting of the arms embargo—in the most simple way, solve the problem of the shortage of Soviet weapon spare parts, and under which terms the Yugoslavs could service the Yugoslav-made ships used by the Hungarian fleet, are also likely to be raised at the talks.

Hungary: Bosnian Forces Guarantee IFOR Unit Safety

LD2001210196 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Tata [western Hungary] barracks, Croatian, Muslim, and Serbian military leaders of Bosnia have studied the arms control methods laid down in the Vienna [conventional] arms reduction treaty. The generals said all military forces in the southern Slav region were paying special attention to the security of Implementation Force [IFOR] units, including Hungarian soldiers.

[Unidentified correspondent] General Zdrasko represents Bosnian Serbs at international talks since his superior, Ratko Mladic, army chief commander, is wanted for committing war crimes. "Newsreel" has learned that Mladic's first deputy had visited Hungary a couple of days ago. He was the head of a Bosnian Serb delegation at secret talks with the Defense Ministry about the security of Hungarian IFOR troops.

[Begin Zdrasko recording, in Serbo-Croat fading into Hungarian translation] We give guarantees to the Hungarian people that their sons will be under the greatest security in our country. I can promise this, particularly, because the role they have undertaken in the IFOR is very humane. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The rest of the military commanders present, Fikret Muslimovic and Zeljko Siljek, two leaders of the Muslim-Croatian confederation in Bosnia, spoke in a similar manner. In connection with arms control [the Hungarian] ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [Istvan Gyarmati] said he trusted that, although with a week's delay, Yugoslavia would supply data on its weapons.

[Begin Gyarmati recording] It is regrettable that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has not met its Dayton undertaking, but I do not want to speculate on the reasons. I am sure they do not want to hide the tanks in the ground, as today's state of technology makes this totally unnecessary. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Istvan Gyarmati said the real achievement will be the signing of the Vienna [conventional] arms reduction treaty by the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

Hungary: Smallholders Criticize Government Actions

AU1901154596 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 96 p 3

[Report by "bertok:" "They Are Against the Transit of Russian Troops—The Smallholders Propose a Political Debate Day"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It injured the dignity of the Hungarian nation, the way that Arpad Goncz, Gyula Horn, and Gyorgy Keleti ran to Taszar at breakneck speed, in dusty jumpers, to meet Bill Clinton, in spite of the fact that the U.S. President had indicated that he only wished to inspect his country's units temporarily stationed in Hungary and that he did not wish to hold talks. As Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP], said at his news conference on 18 January, his party was protesting against this humiliating style. He repeatedly called on Goncz, commander in chief of the Army,—like Clinton—to accompany the Hungarian soldiers, rather than just giving them some kind of banner, if he is so certain about the safety of the Hungarian unit sent to Croatia.

The FKGP also protests the government's making a decision without parliament on handing over further establishments to the Americans, and it is most decidedly against Russian IFOR [Implementation Force] troops marching through Hungary. As Torgyan said, it is impermissible to allow this in view of the 4 November 1956 historical experience.

The situation of the Vojvodina Hungarians requires determined, immediate, and coordinated steps from Hungarian foreign policy. The FKGP's leadership came to this conclusion at their meeting with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians. In the interest of this, they suggest that the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee discuss the tasks at an extraordinary session and Foreign Ministry Laszlo Kovacs should also be invited to the meeting. An effective autonomy concept relating to the Hungarians living beyond the border would also be needed, and the FKGP suggests a political debate day on this issue in the second half of February.

Hungary: Raffay Views Borders, Minority Situation

AU2001172096 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 96 p 5

[Interview with Erno Raffay, former state secretary in the Defense Ministry and author of book entitled "The 75 Years of Trianon," by Jozsef Balint; place and date not given: "Raffay: Others Will Not Make Initiatives Instead of Us—Historic Chance for Our Diplomacy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the Trianon peace dictates, mostly depressing reports have been reaching the mother country—and not only here—on the situation of the Hungarians living in the severed territories. The signs of oppression often appear emphatically, and very occasionally not so strongly.

[Balint] What are your views on the situation of the Hungarians living as a minority beyond the border?

[Raffay] Keeping the acquired territories, economic goods, and, last but not least, the people living there has been the most important goal of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia from the outset. This was also clear from their foreign policy, and in their domestic policy they strived for a general homogenization. Naturally, in some periods, Czechoslovakia had a policy of exclusion (see the Benes decrees) against the national minorities, but the aforementioned statements still characterize these countries and their successor states. The situation of the Hungarians is made worse by the fact that their legally deprived status is being reinforced through laws in Romania and Slovakia, while in Serbia the sons and daughters of our nation are suffering the consequences of the South Slav [Yugoslav] war.

[Balint] On the basis of the current and previous situation assessments, can we conclude that the situation of the Hungarians living beyond the lines drawn in Trianon has only deteriorated?

[Raffay] We have been able to witness some improvement in the past five years, because they have been able to form parties and interest representation groups, which has made it possible for them to voice their views at a higher level. At the same time, the Slovak language law and the Romanian education law, which deprive the Hungarians of their fundamental rights, are irritating. It was saddening for me to hear that the CSEMADOK [Association of Working Hungarians in Czechoslovakia] is about to cease to exist in Slovakia due to financial difficulties. In my view, in spite of the positive elements, we cannot witness any improvement in the fate of the Hungarians. They talk about the chances of historic conciliation in vain, while even the basic rights cannot be guaranteed in these countries to those living in a minority.

[Balint] Do you believe that the superpowers have not learned from the shameful Trianon peace dictate?

[Raffay] The French played the biggest role in this. In the early 1990's, when I was political state secretary at the Defense Ministry, the military attache of our Paris

Embassy informed me in detail on a speech of then President Francois Mitterrand, the essence of which was that the French and others, too, had to do everything possible to correct the mistakes made in Trianon. A major injustice had been committed against Hungary. We were later able to witness the positive outcomes of this speech. During the Antall and Boross governments, the French took favorable steps for Hungary regarding military and security policy. Now I can see another opportunity for the peace dictate to be revised. However, to achieve this, the country would need a foreign policy based on national bases.

[Balint] What do you actually mean?

[Raffay] As is well known, U.S. troops are stationed in Taszar. There will never be a better opportunity for the Hungarian Government to call the U.S. diplomats' attention to the miserable fate of the Hungarians living beyond the border, and they could suggest the correction of the borders because we have very little chance to hope for a reassuring solution without this. Hungarian diplomacy should take this step, especially because otherwise it will miss a historic chance; if we do not make the initiative, others are very unlikely to do anything in our interest.

Hungary: Observer Satisfied With Palestinian Elections

LD2101124796 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman [Matyas Eorsi] of the Hungarian National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee expects an independent Palestinian state to be set up within three years, with which Hungary is ready to establish diplomatic ties. Matyas Eorsi was an observer at the elections on the territories under Palestinian control. He found that, by Middle Eastern standards, the elections were freer and more democratic than in several other Arab countries, and Yasir 'Arafat won such an outright victory, which could not be attributed to election fraud.

Hungary: HSP To Plan New Party Leadership Posts

LD2101234796 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At its March congress, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] will not focus on personnel and organizational matters, but on the preparation of a political program for the second half of the government cycle [until the next elections due in spring 1998]. At least this is what the party leaders would like to achieve.

Sandor Csintalan, executive deputy chairman, and Imre Szekeres, chairman of the HSP's parliamentary group, however, confirmed that, according to the [planned] amendment of the party's statute,—which was approved in opposition four years ago—several new posts were expected to be created in the senior government coalition party. For example, the party chairman's [general] deputy—or an executive chairman—is likely to be elected in March. The search for suitable people for the old and new posts has already started.

Hungary: National Democratic Alliance Dissolves

LD2001212596 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Democratic Alliance [nonparliamentary party], hallmarked by [former reform communist] Imre Pozsgay's name, has ceased to exist. The party will not have a legal successor. The alliance's general assembly issued a statement saying that the country's critical situation necessitates cooperation and the joining of larger political forces on the basis of national interests. Party Chairman Imre Pozsgay announced that, due to another important engagement, he would also resign his post as acting chairman of the Movement for Hungarian Unity.

Hungary: Ex-NDSZ Heads To Support MDF or KDNP

LD2201113296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to press reports, following the breaking up of the National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ], Zoltan Biro and Imre Pozsgay [former NDSZ leaders] would be happy to cooperate either with the largest opposition party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], or the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP].

Zoltan Biro told UJ MAGYARORSZAG the matter has been raised at private discussions that they would support a reorganized MDF or a predictable KDNP. The politician also said that they had decided to dissolve the NDSZ in order to facilitate cooperation among nationalist forces [nemzeti eroek].

Hungary: Torgyan Loses, Bokros Gains Popularity

AU1601102796 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Jan 96 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The Finance Minister Has Gained Five Points—The Popularity of Sandor Nagy and Jozsef Torgyan Has Slipped Somewhat"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last month of 1995, opinions on [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros, the least popular Hungarian politician, somewhat improved, the five-point gain being mainly due to voters of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Although Bokros's sympathy rating is higher than at any time in the past six months, this does not change his position on the popularity list.

Looking back on 1995, we can see that the public's knowledge of politicians in the Szonda Ipsos surveys increased during the year. The finance minister is the leader in this: At his appointment, 58 percent of the population knew him, and in December 1995, as much as 95 percent. Sandor Csintalan's [MSZP] recognition factor also showed a sharp increase: It increased from 30 percent early in the year to 66 percent. [National Assembly's Chairman] Zoltan Gal and Gyorgy Giczy [chairman of Christian Democratic People's Party, KDNP] were also able to register a 20 percent increase.

As for the politicians' popularity, contrary to their recognition, the main tendency is a decrease rather than an increase. Compared with the January values or the one recorded when the politician began in his current position, only the popularity index of Agnes Maczo [Independent Smallholders Party, FKGP] and Tamas Isepy [KDNP] showed a better value (by 5 percent); the scores of the others either remained on the previous level or decreased. Loss of popularity is mainly typical in the case of MSZP and Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] politicians. Gyula Horn's, Gabor Fodor's [SZDSZ], and Bokros's popularity score dropped (by 15, 14, and 14 points, respectively).

Looking at the politicians's popularity scores, together with the changes in the voting base of their respective parties, the FKGP and its Chairman Jozsef Torgyan call attention to themselves. The almost 50 percent increase in the number of people attracted to the FKGP was not coupled with an increase in the popularity of the party chairman. This is mostly due to the fact that the opinions between groups with different views on Torgyan became more markedly different.

Torgyan's popularity hardly changed among supporters of the FKGP: The March-April average of 89 points only decreased by two points to 87 by November-December. Supporters of all other parties are uncertain—especially regarding their votes—and a bigger drop in points can be seen among those who would not vote. Torgyan's popularity index dropped from 40 to 36, by four points among the former group, and from 47 to 39, by eight points among the latter.

	Popularity	Change	Recognition (percent)
Goncz	73	- 3	96
Keleti	61	- 1	80
Demszky	60	- 2	90
Kuncze	59	- 1	95
Peto	54	+ 3	89
Deutsch	51	- 1	82
Orban	50	- 1	92
Giczy	49	0	58
Gal	49	0	72
Fuzessy	49	+ 1	45
S. Nagy	48	- 4	82
Szekeres	46	+ 1	69
Isepy	45	+ 2	36
Fodor	45	0	91
Szajer	45	- 1	52
Maczo	45	- 1	80
Torgyan	44	- 4	96
Csintalan	43	- 1	66
Szabo	42	0	82
Horn	41	+ 1	96
Fur	40	- 1	86
Boross	34	0	90
Bokros	26	+ 5	95

B-H: Banja Luka's Radic Views Talks With Clinton

AU2201115896 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 96 p 3

[Interview with Predrag Radic, leader of the Banja Luka Serbs and member of the Serb delegation that met with President Clinton at Tuzla airport, by Nada Puvacevic; place and date not given: "Peace Requires Compromises"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At Tuzla airport on Saturday 13 January, U.S. President Bill Clinton with his aides, after meeting with U.S. soldiers, held talks with members of Muslim, Croatian, and Serb delegations on the most topical problems of the implementation of the Dayton accords. Before the meeting in Tuzla, Predrag Radic, mayor of Banja Luka and a member of the Serb delegation, had visited Ilidza and talked to Radovan Karadzic and members of the state leadership about the coming visit of Bill Clinton. We asked Radic to comment on the first meeting of the Serb delegation with the U.S. President.

[Radic] The Muslim, Croatian, and Serb delegations, the last being, unfortunately, the smallest, travelled in a military transport aircraft, which took off from Sarajevo airport for Tuzla. The Serb delegation consisted of His Reverence the Metropolitan Dabrobosanski Nikolaj, Nedeljko Prstojevic, mayor of Ilidza, and myself. In the Croatian delegation there were Kresimir Zubak [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation president] and Mariofil Ljubic [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Assembly speaker], while in the Muslim delegation there were all the leading officials, that is, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Hasan Muratovic, Mayor of Sarajevo Kupusovic, together with the clerics Cardinal Puljic [Roman Catholic archbishop of Sarajevo] and Efendi Smajic [reis ul-ulema Ceric's deputy]. At Tuzla airport, we were received by Richard Holbrooke, General Shalikashvili, George Joulwan, and some U.S. congressmen. Prior to that, Clinton had met with Mr. Izetbegovic and Sacirbegovic, and there then followed a joint meeting with all the representatives of the Muslim government and all the clerics and mayors. Addressing us, President Clinton expressed satisfaction that we, the representatives of the three peoples, who had been until recently at war, were meeting together in the same place and that this initial meeting would make it possible for us to hold meetings alone in the future and discuss ways to resolve practical issues in the first place, that is, regarding energy supplies, the revitalization of major industrial systems, traffic communications, postal services and telecommunications.

Sarajevo and Refugees — Priorities

[Radic continues] He also pointed out that the international community was not ready to invest funds in building parallel systems, because that would be expensive even for America or Germany, let alone for the small and poor Bosnia-Herzegovina. Funds will be invested in the revitalization of industrial and housing facilities. Mr. Shalikashvili expressed his desire to talk to me personally about a most topical problem, Serb Sarajevo, from where I had arrived shortly before the meeting and under a particular impression. Previously we had visited Ilidza and had seen a large convoy of refugees. From Ilidza to Lukavica, which is a 25-km stretch of road, we travelled for precisely three and a half hours, because of the refugees who jammed the road. Mr. Shalikashvili agreed that the major current problem is indeed Sarajevo. By way of five radio stations set up by the Americans, they are appealing to the citizens of Serb Sarajevo not to go away and saying that their safety will be guaranteed, but that is certainly very difficult to accomplish. During the talks, Prstojevic's idea was accepted, which anticipates a cantonization of the city and rounding off the Croatian, Muslim, and Serb parts of the city. It was also pointed out that throughout the four years of war between Serb Ilidza and Croatian Kiseljak not a single bullet was fired. This speaks for people's willingness to live together, instead of one beside the other. I drew Mr. Shalikashvili's attention to the second major problem, which is the return of the refugees, and explained to him that it was impossible to talk about that as long as the Banja Luka region is so swamped with refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the Bosnian Krajina. I insisted on reciprocity regarding returnees and a better quality of living conditions on all three sides. Without it, it is very difficult to talk about the return of the non-Serb population not only to Banja Luka, but also to all parts of the Serb Republic, as long as the conditions are not created for Serbs to return to Glamoc, Grahovo, and so forth. Mr. Shalikashvili completely agreed that Sarajevo and the return of refugees were the key questions for future cohabitation.

[Puvacic] What was actually the goal of this meeting?

[Radic] The goal of this meeting was to make use of the authority of U.S. President Clinton to make all of us get together in the same place at the first initial meeting. This is best illustrated by our journeys: From Sarajevo to Tuzla we sat separately, were silent, and the atmosphere was extremely chilly, while on our way back, we sat together and talked precisely about what we had been discussing at Tuzla airport.

Restoration of Energy Supply System

[Puvacic] Did you have any contacts with any particular participant from the Muslim or Croatian delegations?

[Radic] In Tuzla, I talked with Mr. Hasan Muratovic, minister without portfolio in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, about restoring the energy supply system, because they are interested in ways of supplying Gorazde with energy, for which they are offering us better energy supplies for our Krajina. Mr. Zubak expressed a desire to visit Banja Luka. I told him that I would be a good host, but he knew better than I how it is to travel these days throughout the region, which is regulated by IFOR [Implementation Force]. In the middle of the meeting Mr. Franjo Komarica, the bishop of Banja Luka, also arrived, having been escorted by IFOR via Doboj. In the lounge at Tuzla airport the church representatives, the Reverend Puljic, Mr. Smajic, and Metropolitan Nikolaj, also talked to one another and I talked to Mr. Beslagic, mayor of Tuzla, as well as Mr. Kupusovic, mayor of Sarajevo. They also expressed their desire to visit Banja Luka and when they invited me to visit Sarajevo I answered that I would gladly visit Sarajevo and not only the Serb part, but also the Muslim and Croatian parts.

[Puvacic] What is the message of this meeting in Tuzla?

[Radic] Mr. Clinton, Mr. Holbrooke, and General Shalikashvili said that they could separate us and guarantee security, but our coming together and arrangements regarding cohabitation they left to us, with many compromises that such a life necessarily requires. The entities have their own territories and designations, but cohabitation requires concessions, particularly in the sphere of economics. I am not saying that we shall be forming a whole again, but the entities will have to cooperate, because otherwise the international community will not aid us. Let us remember: They promised far more to the Russians, but, even though it is a great power, Russia has not received everything that was promised to it. Therefore, we have to find a modus vivendi together in any region where fire breaks out, because only we together can extinguish such a fire. For the time being, we have not arranged any other meetings. We shall inform the state leadership of the Serb Republic on the course of the meeting, with a suggestion that the talks ought to continue at the state level, rather than that of cities, which, if it becomes a regular practice, could act as a means of dissolving the Serb Republic. In the end, I told Mr. Shalikashvili that one year is a short period for the implementation planned by the agreement, illustrating that with the example of Cyprus, where the peace forces arrived 25 years ago and have not still finished their mission there.

B-H: Siladjdzic Announces Possible New Party

LD2101123396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 21 Jan (SRNA) — Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has announced the possibility of setting up a new political party after his clashes with the faction supporting the leader of the Bosnian Muslims, Alija Izetbegovic, at the latest session of the Muslim assembly.

Silajdzic said in an interview to the independent Radio-TV station Studio 99 that the law on the government, approved at that session, "does not represent the people's will".

"This law must be changed, or they have to find a new prime minister-designate," Silajdzic said. [passage omitted]

B-H: Silajdzic Announces Resignation 21 Jan

NC2101130396 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP) — Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on Sunday told [21 Jan] AFP he was resigning.

"There will be a new prime minister," he said.

B-H: Silajdzic Details Reasons for Resignation

AU2101145296 Paris AFP in English 1437 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP) — Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Sunday he would not retain the post in the next government because of a new law that weakens its authority.

"There will be a new prime minister", Silajdzic told AFP.

Two weeks ago the Bosnian parliament passed a law that reduces the number of ministers from 12 to six, one of them without portfolio, in a move that practically limits the central government to representing the country abroad.

The Dayton peace accord signed last month called for an acceleration of a long-standing plan to separate Bosnia's central government from that of the Moslem-Croat federation formed in 1994 and which is now the cornerstone of the agreement.

If effect, the law streamlining the central government was passed in accordance with the peace accord.

At the parliamentary session Silajdzic pushed for the cabinet to have six members with full portfolio. His proposal was first accepted but then rejected in second vote after a one-hour break during which he maintains MPs were manipulated by the ruling Moslem SDA party, of which he is a member.

Several days after the session, Bosnia's collective presidency nominated Silajdzic to form a new Bosnian government, but he has repeated in recent days that he would not accept the posting under the terms of the new law.

On Sunday he made it official, saying he rejected the mandate given to him to form a new government.

"I think parliamentary democracy has been suspended and the will of the people has been annulled", Silajdzic told AFP.

"I want the central authorities to be strong, I'm not hiding that", he said in a radio interview Saturday.

This is not the first conflict Silajdzic has with the SDA.

In August, Silajdzic tendered his resignation but it was rejected by the presidency. The reason for the resignation was almost identical — the premier said the government had less say in state matters than SDA leaders.

On Sunday the executive council of the SDA held an emergency session to decide who to ask to form the new government.

The session was held behind the closed doors.

B-H: Assembly Chief Refutes Silajdzic Statement

LD2001204896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We are transmitting in full the statement we received from the office of the republican and federal assembly's general secretary.

Silajdzic's statement contains a number of incorrect assessments. For the purpose of giving the public a complete and true picture we are issuing the following statement:

The government failed to submit the Draft Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Law on the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in a correct way because it submitted two versions of the draft law. According to Article 184 of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly Code of Practice the draft law should have been submitted in one form, without any other versions.

In order to avoid wasting time and meet the Dayton Accord deadlines, the assembly decided to treat the versions proposed by the government as amendments, in line with Articles 190-196 of the abovementioned rules of procedure.

In keeping with the above and in accordance with the rules of procedure the assembly [deputies] first voted on the first version and then on the second one. Let us recall — both versions envisage that the government should consist of a prime minister and six ministers. The difference is that the sixth ministry has a dedicated portfolio according to version one, and is without portfolio according to version two.

Fifty-eight deputies voted in favor of version one with 21 against and 10 abstentions. Since the assembly has 160 deputies, the draft failed to obtain a simple majority — 81 votes — and was not adopted. At the request of the Party of Democratic Action's club of deputies there was a break after the [first round] voting.

The Croat deputies warned after the first round of voting that not a single Croat deputy voted in favor of the draft and that such a situation was in contravention of the agreement but the real reason for the second round was the violation of the rules of procedure concerning the voting on the two versions and the necessary number of votes for the adoption of a draft law.

After the break the deputies voted on the second version, which received 71 votes in favor, 10 against and 19 abstentions, and this version was adopted as an amendment to Article 2 of the draft law.

After that a vote on the entire law was taken. Eighty-six deputies voted in favor, one voted against and 10 abstained. Since more than half of the deputies in the assembly voted in favor of the law, the law was approved in line with the constitution and the rules of procedure of the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

These facts on the voting for the controversial law can be verified in the minutes of the 15th Session of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, which are open to the public. It is the constitutional right of every deputy to vote according to his or her wishes and beliefs.

As is clear from this, Silajdzic misinformed the public in his statement, which is impermissible in a man holding such an important position. We do not want to comment on the part of the statement in which Silajdzic tried to prove that this is an issue of life or death for the republic, because the issue of whether the sixth minister does or does not have a dedicated portfolio obviously has nothing to do with the survival of the state.

However, we cannot ignore the part of Silajdzic's statement which indeed is relevant for the survival of the state as a democratic republic. Silajdzic, clearly stating his disregard for the parliament said literally: And this is a parliament to which I am supposed to be answerable? I cannot accept that.

Yes, Silajdzic, as long as this parliament exists, you and everyone else will be answerable to that body because anything else is tantamount to dictatorship. We recommend to Silajdzic not to put himself above the parliament and to respect its dignity because the deputies in the parliament are perhaps simple people, but they are the people who were elected by this nation and who stuck with the nation at the most difficult times. They deserve more respect.

B-H: Hasan Muratovic To Be New Prime Minister

AU2101163696 Paris AFP in English 1626 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP) — Hasan Muratovic, minister for relations with the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR), will be the new Bosnian prime minister, the state news agency BH Press said Sunday.

The announcement was made after incumbent prime minister Haris Silajdzic said he would not retain the post in the next government because of a new law that weakens its authority.

Two weeks ago the Bosnian parliament passed a law that reduces the number of ministers from 12 to six, one of them without portfolio, in a move that practically limits the central government to representing the country abroad.

B-H: SDA Chooses Muratovic To Replace Silajdzic

AU2101193996 Paris AFP in English 1919 GMT 21 Jan 96

[By Edina Neretljak]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP) — [Passage omitted] The new premier will be Hasan Muratovic, until now minister for relations with the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR), the state-run news agency BH press said.

He was chosen during an emergency session of the ruling Moslem SDA party chaired by its leader, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, the agency added.

Muratovic, a close associate of the president but who does not belong to the ruling party, was not immediately available for comment. [passage omitted]

"I think parliamentary democracy has been suspended and the will of the people has been annulled", Silajdzic told AFP.

"I want the central authorities to be strong, I'm not hiding that", he said in a radio interview Saturday.

In a statement, the ruling party urged that the next government be formed "without delay." The current government led by Silajdzic will stay in power for the time being.

The party's executive council said it had formally withdrawn the offer for Silajdzic to form the next government, and dismissed his criticism of parliament as unfounded.

"The executive council with regret states that Silajdzic continues to give the media his semi-true or untrue statements thus diminishing the reputation of the parliament", it said.

Silajdzic, a former vice president of the party, has been at odds with it for some time but the divorce appeared to be final on Sunday. [passage omitted]

Muratovic is a former economics professor who ran a successful consulting firm during the communist era before Yugoslavia disintegrated.

In Bosnia's first war-time government, formed in June 1992, he was forestry minister and later went on to serve as minister for relations with the United Nations and then with NATO.

An IFOR official who asked not be named called him "a good choice because he is the only capable one among the Moslems for such a posting but he is unpredictable."

B-H: Ruling Party Withdraws Silajdzic Candidacy

LD2101205596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The SDA executive committee held a special session in Sarajevo today with Alija Izetbegovic in the chair. The committee discussed the situation following Haris Silajdzic's statement to Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television on 19 January in which, among other things, he set conditions for accepting the mandate to form the new government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The executive committee was told that Haris Silajdzic had conditioned his acceptance of the mandate to form the republic's government on changes in the law on the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was approved at the last session of the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The executive committee believes that it is inappropriate for Silajdzic to set any conditions, all the more so since the statement issued yesterday by the secretary general of the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina confirmed that the law had been approved following regular procedure. That statement also showed that in his statement the prime minister had concealed the fact that, in contravention of the rules of procedure, the government had submitted to the assembly an incomplete draft law, which then caused all the subsequent difficulties in the procedure to pass the law.

The executive committee stated with regret that Haris Silajdzic was continuing to feed Bosnian and foreign media with his half-truths or untruths about the conditions in which the law was approved, thereby damaging the reputation of the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the eyes of the Bosnian and foreign public.

The executive committee said that the procrastination in forming the republic's government has already had damaging effects by blocking the political process. Almost two weeks have been lost and Haris Silajdzic, alone, is responsible for this. Any delay in forming the federal government is to the advantage of Croat extremists because it postpones the disbanding of Herzeg-Bosna. Prime Minister Silajdzic's behavior, regardless of his motives and intentions, adds, objectively speaking, grist to the mill of the enemies of the republic.

In view of the above, the executive committee considers Haris Silajdzic's candidacy for the post of prime minister-designate of the Bosnia-Herzegovina government as withdrawn. At the same time, the SDA executive committee has put forward Hasan Muratovic, the chairman of the state committee for relations with the United Nations in the current government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as candidate for the new prime minister- designate of the republic's government. The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will immediately be informed about this in order to pass the relevant decision. The SDA executive committee insists that the process of forming the federal and republic's governments be initiated without any further delay in order to eliminate any further damaging consequences, and to start tackling problems.

In addition to the executive committee members, the session was attended by the presidents and representatives of the SDA cantonal committees from Tuzla, Travnik, Zenica, and Mostar; and the SDA Sarajevo committee.

B-H: Muratovic Accepts Post 'With No Great Pleasure'

AU2201115596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with IFOR [Implementation Force], has told the BH-PRESS news agency today that he has accepted the candidacy for the post of prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina that was offered him by the Party of Democratic Action.

Muratovic said that it was with no great pleasure that he accepted the candidacy for prime minister, principally as Mr. Silajdzic was the man whom we need but had unfortunately refused to be the prime minister-designate, but owing to the hard times [words indistinct] the government, Muratovic added. He pointed out that the future republican government with six ministries would be able to carry out the difficult tasks ahead of it. Muratovic also said that if his candidacy was confirmed by the Presidency and Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, he would be forming the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible.

B-H: NATO General Says Separate Armies Permitted

AU2001154296 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 20 (AFP) — The ground commander of the NATO force implementing the Bosnian peace accord told the three factions Saturday that they could maintain their independent armies.

The statement by British Lieutenant General Michael Walker opened a Joint Military Commission (JMC) meeting of the mainly Moslem Bosnian government and Serb and Croatian armies which fought the nearly four-year war that ended with the peace agreement signed in Paris December 20.

The faction generals were to report to Walker on compliance with deadlines to withdraw from confrontation lines and release prisoners that fell Friday at midnight, 30 days into implementation of the peace agreement and considered an important milestone.

Walker, in comments made with reporters present, before a closed-door meeting with the factions began, said his job was "to report to NATO military authorities my assessment of the progress made so far in the implementation of the military annex of the peace agreement."

The troop withdrawal has been carried out but only 217 of some 900 prisoners have been released.

Walker said that the Moslems and Croats were mandated politically to form a federation "and with it a single ministry of defense."

The federation was created in March 1994 but there is not a single defense ministry.

Walker said dealing with three instead of two armies "must not be allowed to hinder our military work" and that even within the federation Moslems and Croats would have "the right to retain two existing armies."

Tension between Moslem and Croat forces threatens to torpedo the peace process, as the two sides have been on the verge of battling at several sites, particularly Mostar in the southeast.

The Croats were represented at the meeting by their commander Major General Zivko Budimir, the Bosnians by their commander Rasim Delic but the Serbs only by number two Lieutenant General Milan Gvero, as commander Ratko Mladic is under charges for war crimes and IFOR officers refuse to meet with him, and would have to arrest him if they did.

B-H: Bosnian Croat Army Chief on Withdrawal

LD2001163196 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2145 GMT 19 Jan 96

[Studio interview with Major-General Zivko Budimir, chief of the General Staff of the Croat Defense Council, by unidentified announcer — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] At midnight tonight one of the first and essential deadlines of the Dayton Agreement expires — the military withdrawal from the line of separation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. With me this evening is Major-General Zivko Budimir, the chief of the General Staff of the Croat Defense Council (HVO). Good evening, Mr Budimir.

[Budimir] Good evening to you and all viewers of Croatian Radio-Television.

[Announcer] Mr. Budimir, what does the withdrawal by 2 km from the line of separation in Bosnia-Herzegovina mean militarily? Is this withdrawal completed, and will some form of defense of Croat lands from the so-called Serb side in Bosnia remain?

[Budimir] The withdrawal of forces by 2 km at this point certainly represents the creation of a buffer zone between the warring sides, which will be in principle 4 km. This immediately creates a certain guarantee that in the coming period there will not be clashes between the previously opposing sides, and as far as the defense of the areas which have up until now been under the control of the HVO is concerned, that defense is still organized but now along new defense lines. The security of the defense is guaranteed by all the units which are located along the front lines, but additional security is provided by the Ifor units which are deployed within the buffer zone created by this withdrawal.

[Announcer] Mr. Budimir, what will that buffer zone mean precisely for the soldiers of the HVO in this area of separation from the [Bosnian] Serb Republic?

[Budimir] This buffer zone will in a sense make life easier for the HVO units in terms of their involvement, the number of men which have been involved up until now, because it will reduce the total number of men deployed and this will create conditions for additional training of the formations of the HVO. As for information on the withdrawal of forces of the Army of the Serb Republic and Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that will be presented at a meeting tomorrow [20 January] of the joint military commission to be held in Ilidza. As far as we know the other two sides have also already almost completely carried out the withdrawal commitment.

[Announcer] Mr. Budimir, are there still lines of separation within the Federation between the Croats and the Muslims-Bosniaks, and what is happening along those lines?

[Budimir] Yes, in certain areas, such as Mostar and some others, there are still lines which delineate areas which were under the control of the HVO and the Army [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] in the conflicts which were ended with the Washington Agreement. Freedom of movement has so far been established for civilians, that is women, children and men who do not fall into the category of military eligibility, and in the coming period, with the complete establishment and realization of the Federation there should be an increase in freedom of movement within the Federation.

[Announcer] Is there also some kind of withdrawal of forces along these lines planned, when is it expected for and on how large an area?

[Budimir] The process of withdrawal of forces, that is the abolishing of forces on the Federation territory, has begun with the Washington agreements and is still going on. The number of soldiers presently on these... [changes thought] I must say, so-called lines, because they are not lines of defense. They are observation posts which exist only to control the area in which there are still largely uncleared minefields, because it is impossible to clear them, the area is inaccessible, and also because of a large number of mines. This will also be a big problem in the buffer zones that are now being established between the two entities within Bosnia-Herzegovina, and most probably that line will soon disappear. I mean the line between the Croat defense Council and the Army, the observation posts should completely disappear in the structure of the Federation Army.

[Announcer] Another deadline is expiring these days, that is the deadline for withdrawal of foreign units from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Have these units, primarily mujahidin, left Bosnia, and do you think there are still army units in Bosnia-Herzegovina that are not under direct military control of the three warring factions in Bosnia—Herzegovina?

[Budimir] Yes, the deadline for witdrawal of all foreign forces from the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, except IFOR, the International Red Cross, and other humanitarian organizations expired on 13 January, and the Croat side, that is, the Croat defense Council, has complied with that deadline in full.

The units of the Croat Defense Council that were engaged after the Split agreement on the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina left on 11 January all the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But according to our information, not all foreign citizens who have been engaged within the units of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have left the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Army General Staff, gave a written guarantee that all these foreign residents have been disbanded from the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Announcer] They are still under the direct command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Are they, as the foreign media has been saying in the past few days, a potential source of danger and of some of the possible clashes on the territory of the Federation?

[Budimir] It is our understanding that a small number of these mujahidin who form part of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina are still serving in units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because of the fact that the organization of their departure from Bosnia-Herzegovina has still not been completed. A significant group of mujadidin who were located in central Bosnia were handed over in an organized manner on 12 January to the responsibility of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it is our understanding that they have not yet left the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina but are no longer in the ranks of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, within the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Certainly, for as long as they are present on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina they are a potential danger to peace within the Federation, because we have witnessed incidents involving units of these mujahidin within the formations of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina which in the last few months have been very frequent.

[Announcer] You mentioned cases of the foreign and domestic media reporting recently from Bosnia-Herzegovina on developments in, for example, Usora, Mostar, and in Mrkonjic Grad. Can you explain what is happening now in these areas, and are there still problems?

[Budimir] The problems that existed in Mostar — and members of HVO units were not participating in them, rather the problem was caused by the irresponsible behaviour of individuals, primarily in the Bosniak-Muslim ranks of the Federation, by provocations that occurred on 1 January, during the New Year holidays, and ended in undesirable consequences for both sides — and these were the result, as I say, of irresponsible behaviour, which can be seen as provocations, and it would be a very bad thing if these were organized provocations — this problem is now stabilized. The situation in Mostar is improving from day to day, and we expect that there will not be any more significant incidents in this area.

[Announcer] Usora and Mrkonjic Grad?

[Budimir] In the case of Usora, what happened there was that units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, probably under instructions they received from the Muslim political leadership, were attempting to use the withdrawal, which is one of the requirements of the Dayton Agreement, in the area under the control of the 110th Home Guard Regiment of the HVO and populated by Croats — to use the withdrawal of forces that were partially beyond this area in order to secure the presence of units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in places that lie within the area of responsibility of the 110th Home Guard Regiment. The show of force with which the the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina together with the police force of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina attempted to force the Croats of the Usora region, and principally the units of the HVO, to give way to them and allow the advance of units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the village of Alibegovci did not succeed; however, they are currently trying through civil authorities and police stations of the Tesanj ministry of internal affairs to remain in this area and thwart the organization of the Croat population of Usora in their efforts to achieve equal rights with the Muslim population of the so-called Tesanj pocket.

[Announcer] It was agreed that these units should withdraw. Does this mean that they have still not withdrawn from the area of these two Croat villages?

[Budimir] The military units have, but the units of the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina still have not.

[Announcer] And the area of Mrkonjic Grad is one of the areas from which HVO units are withdrawing, and it has also been the focus of attention particularly in the foreign media. Has this withdrawal been completed?

[Budimir] In the areas of the battlegrounds outside Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo the Croat forces, the HVO, have completely carried out the withdrawal by 2 km, and the planned preparations are in progress that were ordered by the HVO General Staff [as received] — that the units holding the front lines in that sector should respect the provisions of the Dayton Agreement for withdrawal from areas being handed over to another entity — and this provision does not become binding for us until 45 days after the signing of the agreement, which means that the deadline has still not expired.

[Announcer] Mr. Budimir, has any progress been achieved so far, which was I believe envisaged by both the Washington and Dayton agreements, concerning the future cooperation of the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Budimir] Progress with regard to the organization of the Army of the Federation — because we can no longer speak of cooperation, as the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the areas under the control of the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, now comprise the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we have to organize the Army of the Federation — significant steps forward in the organization of the Federation Army have still not been made, for the simple reason that the Constituent Assembly of the Federation has still not even adopted a law on defense of the Federation. Therefore, we cannot yet consider the organization of the Federation Army. The Federation Army should be organized in such a way that the united, or joint part of that Federation Army is above the level of corps or the level of military area, in other words it should have a joint command, a combined staff which would come under the Ministry of Defense of the Federation, while at a lower level, at the level of corps or military area, there would be two components, which would be the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Announcer] To end with, Mr. Budimir, have you been called on to cooperate with the Hague court in connection with the investigation of the events surrounding the mass graves in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the investigation of evidence as to what exactly happened on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and what form does your cooperation take with other military and political officials, in particular IFOR, in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Budimir] There has been no official request to the HVO General Staff for cooperation in connection with the charges against certain military officials of the HVO, but we are certainly prepared to offer that cooperation if it is required, because we are quite sure that officers of the HVO who are accused of war crimes were not responsible during this war on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina for any kind of war crimes in this area. As for cooperation with the units of IFOR and other international players on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina who are responsible for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, I must stress that the position of the units of the HVO is identical with the political instructions of the political leaders of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna, that full support must be given to all international factors in the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, and that the units of the HVO must observe all the provisions of the Dayton Agreement with the aim of implementing that agreement.

B-H: IFOR Commander on Successful Troop Withdrawal

LD2101114496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 21 (TANJUG) - Bosnia peace Implementation Force (IFOR) commander Admiral Leighton Smith said late Saturday [20 January] that all three sides in Bosnia had met the deadline for troop withdrawal, but that the release of POWs had not been completed.

'The parties have shown a spirit of compliance and cooperation we had only dreamed of and not fully expected,' Admiral Smith was quoted by news agencies as saying.

The admiral said the International Committee of the Red Cross had informed him that none of the three sides had met the deadline of Friday midnight for the release of all POWs. Under the peace accords, this was the deadline for the withdrawal of troops to 2 km from the line of separation and for the release of all POWs.

Admiral Smith said NATO was now in a position to take a more active role in looking at places which are suspected mass graves and securing investigations of these places by international agencies.

He ordered the NATO air force to set up a program of surveillance over a number of known places which are suspected mass graves.

Admiral Smith confirmed he had received help from the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague, but declined to give any details of his request or the answer he had received.

French General Bernard Janvier also said in Sarajevo on Saturday that all three sides in Bosnia had met most obligations of the Dayton accords for this deadline.

Gen. Janvier was adamant that all POWs should be released unconditionally, the Agence France Presse news agency said.

It remains for certain aspects of the military plan to be completed, Janvier said, especially underscoring undiscovered mine fields, although all sides had shown good will to mark them in the field.

Commenting on reports in world media about the alleged existence of mass graves near the former Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, Janvier said they had no such reports, but that there were indications that there might be some in the area.

Over 11,000 U.S. troops have been deployed in Bosnia so far within the IFOR.

U.S. troop spokesman Dennis Fink said 11,345 U.S. troops had been deployed in northeastern Bosnia, of the total planned number of 20,000 throughout Bosnia.

The U.S. contigent should be fully ready by mid-February, as planned, Fink said in Tuzla on Saturday.

B-H: 19 Jan POW Exchange in Western Bosnia Fails

LD2001101596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0303 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 20 Jan (TANJUG) — The exchange of POW's between the Bosnian Serb Republic and Herzeg-Bosnia, as well as between the Serb Republic Army and Muslim army, scheduled for yesterday [19 January] in western Bosnia, was not carried out even after a long wait and 12-hour negotiations.

The Croatian side was supposed to release 213 POW's from a prison in Mostar, but they were not brought to Bocac, 40 km south of Banja Luka, although this was announced several times.

The Muslim side should have released 86 prisoners belonging to the Serb Republic Army, in Koprivna, 6 km north of Sanski Most, but they failed to be released as well.

The Serb Republic Army brought to Bocac and Koprivna its prisoners — Croats and Muslims from military prisons — but at exactly five minutes past midnight they were turned back as the prisoners belonging to the Serb Army failed to appear from either the Croatian or Muslim side.

The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] acted as mediator, but to no effect. [passage omitted]

The above exchanges were scheduled for last Monday, 15 January, but were delayed owing to unforeseen circumstances.

"The Croatian side, according to an explanation that reached us via the ICRC, attributed the failure of members of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army to turn up to transport problems, and barely five minutes after midnight when it failed to bring along its people [Serb POW's], we decided to withdraw and also to bring back the Croatian POW's, although the Implementation Force [IFOR] put pressure on us to hand them over," Nedeljko Savic, chairman of the commission for the exchange of POW's of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic Army said.

He said he hoped that IFOR activities in connection with this exchange would resume as early as tomorrow, but he was unable to say what, in concrete terms, the next steps would be, as IFOR has only just taken on this work.

In the meantime, as part of the POW exchange, 30 Serbs from Mostar prison who were on a list of 213 supposed to be released from this prison, were released in Sarajevo last night.

The Serb Republic Army today in Bocac, as a sign of goodwill, released Vlado Misic-Jokic, a captured member of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from Herzeg-Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Although there was no release of prisoners, Croatian TV announced in several news bulletins that it had handed over the POW's to the ICRC and the Serb side.

According to the Serb side, this release, even if it had gone ahead, would not have terminated activities in this area because the Serb side has information that prisons in the Republic of Croatia contain over 200 captured members of the Serb Republic Army dating from the offensive on the Serb Republic in September and October 1995.

B-H: No More POW Releases Expected for 'Time Being'

LD2001130796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Officials from the International Committee of the Red Cross said today that for the time being there are no plans for any more POW releases, despite a statement by John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor, that the conflicting sides are exchanging more and more prisoners. [passage omitted]

Amor Masovic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina commission for prisoner exchanges, said no POW exchanges are planned for today. Our standpoint is absolutely as it was before, Masovic said and added that it was quite clear that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government would not release prisoners until Karadzic's Serbs release all their prisoners.

B-H: NATO Commander Rules Out Forcing POW Release

AU2001154096 Paris AFP in English
1356 GMT 20 Jan 96

[By Michael Adler]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Jan 20 (AFP) — Red Cross officials said Saturday that no further prisoner releases were yet planned in Bosnia, despite a senior US official's statement that he expected 700 people still held captive in defiance of an international deadline to be freed.

"More than 700 prisoners are still in jails but the releases must continue," Pierre Gauthier, spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), told AFP.

Christophe Girod, another ICRC official, said however that there is currently "no sign that anything is going to happen."

Bosnia's three factions released 218 (EDS: correct) prisoners Friday but fell short of full compliance with a midnight deadline for liberating all those detained during the war.

The deadline, along with a requirement for troops to withdraw from confrontations lines, were important milestones in enforcing the landmark peace accord signed last month in Paris.

Gauthier said the Americans, who sponsored the peace deal, were "furious" about the non-compliance concerning prisoners but "are obligated to minimize publicly this violation of the accords by saying they are satisfied with the releases Friday."

The ground commander of the NATO force implementing the Bosnian peace accord, British Lieutenant General Michael Walker, met Saturday in Sarajevo with the three factions on compliance with the troop withdrawal and prisoner releases. Walker has already ruled out military action to force the freeing of prisoners.

Amor Masovic, head of the Bosnian Prisoner Exchange Commission, told AFP there were no releases planned for Saturday.

"Our position is absolutely the same. There will be no release of all prisoners from our prisons until the Serbs release all their prisoners, that is clear," Masovic said.

Girod said the situation may change in coming days.

John Shattuck, US assistant secretary of state for humanitarian affairs, was present for a prisoner exchange Friday at Sarajevo airport and said the process would continue.

"The process of release has begun and we expect it to continue as has been made very clear in the discussions that have taken place during the course of today and yesterday," he said.

US embassy officials had no further comment on Saturday.

An ICRC spokesman said seven Serbs were released by the Bosnians in Sarajevo at mid-day Friday. A total of 209 other prisoners were released at about 8:30 p.m. (1930 GMT) Friday by Bosnian, Serb and Croat factions at an isolated field at Sarajevo airport.

They included 67 Bosnians held by Serbs, 120 Serbs held by Bosnians and 22 Serbs who had been released by Croat forces in the southeast Bosnian town of Mostar. The Serbs also released two other Bosnians outside Sarajevo.

The scene at the airport was sinister. Floodlights lit the area on a bitterly cold night while ICRC officials negotiated with the factions. NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) troops patrolled the district, keeping reporters away from the corridor separating the two lines of trucks.

Several of the civilian prisoners released said they had been forced to dig trenches on front lines during their captivity and some soldiers said they were beaten at a military prison.

B-H: ICRC Reports Only 218 of 900 POW's Released

LD2001174096 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1719 GMT 20 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG) — Only 218 of Bosnia's 900 listed prisoners have been released according to plan, the Belgrade office of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said Saturday.

Under the Dayton agreement for Bosnia, Jan. 19 was the deadline for the three confronted sides in the former Yugoslav Republic to release all prisoners.

The three sides had previously submitted their own lists, totalling 900 names, to the ICRC.

The Bosnian Serb side has so far released 69, Croat 29 (from the Mostar prison of Radoc), while Muslims have released 120 prisoners, the statement said.

The Muslim side refused to set free 45 Serbs held in the prison camp in Tarcin near Sarajevo, despite painstaking negotiations that involved representatives of all three sides in Bosnia, the peace Implementation Force (IFOR) and the ICRC.

The statement said that the ICRC would work toward the release of all prisoners and that effort would particularly be made to get information about missing persons.

ICRC officials on Saturday afternoon called a new meeting of a trilateral military commission to continue talks on further release of prisoners.

International mediators said earlier this week that the Muslim side was setting conditions for the release of prisoners, and thus undermining the implementation of the Bosnian peace agreement according to the agreed timetable.

B-H: Serbs Demand Release of Further 550 Prisoners

LD2101153896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 21 Jan (SRNA) — Dragan Bulajic, head of the Bosnian Serb Republic's commission for the exchange [of prisoners of war] has told SRNA that although the deadline for the release of all prisoners of war set by the Dayton agreement expired two days ago, there are still more than 900 Serbs held in Muslim and Croat prisons.

Bulajic specified that the Serb Republic demands the unconditional release of 550 Serbs from Muslim prisons in Tuzla, where representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross have not yet been, as well as from prisons in Zenica, Travnik, Bihac, and Sarajevo, and the remaining prisoners in Tarcin.

We demand that 210 registered Serb prisoners be released from prisons in Croatia, as well as the 150 who have not yet been registered, and are held in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

B-H: Serbs, Muslims Fail To Agree on POW Exchange

LD2101155896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 21 Jan (TANJUG) — No agreement on the release of prisoners was reached at a meeting of the commissions for the exchange of POW's of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic army and the 2d Tuzla Corps of the Muslim army, held in IFOR's [Implementation Force] Nordic base in Sockovac on Mt. Ozren.

Muslim representatives said that this work had been passed on to the competence of the state commission and refused to hand over a list of people held in the Tuzla district prison. The commission for exchange from Zenica did not turn up at the meeting, although its attendance had been agreed.

Another meeting has been convened for next Wednesday [24 January] in Gracanica, and the bodies of dead soldiers should be exchanged the day after that.

B-H: Serbs Admit All Sides Still Holding Prisoners

AU2101185096 Paris AFP in English 1832 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP) — NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR) Sunday blasted the former warring sides in the Balkans for violating a deadline to free their prisoners, as a Serb official admitted they still held 180 detainees. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile Dragan Bulajic, who heads a Bosnian Serb commission on prisoner releases, admitted the Serbs still held 180 Moslem prisoners, but said there were "more than 900 Serbs" detained in Bosnia and Croatia. [passage omitted]

By Friday night, according to ICRC figures, only 217 prisoners were freed.

An official from the Bosnian commission prisoner exchange told AFP that "there would be no prisoner exchange on Sunday but a meeting among the parties would be held Monday."

Bulajic, for his part, said 550 Serbs were being detained in Bihac, Tarcin, Travnik, Zenica and Sarajevo, 210 were held in Bosnian Croat prisons and some 150 in Croatia, the Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency quoted him as saying.

He said the Bosnian Serbs "are still holding 180 (Bosnian) Moslem and Croat prisoners" who would be freed when the Serbs obtained "the ICRC programme for unilateral and simultaneous releases." [passage omitted]

B-H: Kasagic: Muslims 'Trampling' on Treaty Principles

LD2101210496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943 GMT 21 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Serbia, Jan. 21 (TANJUG) — Republika Srpska is strictly abiding by the provisions of the Dayton accord, while the Muslims are trampling the basic principles of the treaty, Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic said on Sunday.

'We are willing to exchange all POWs, but the Muslim government will not accept this until all missing persons are found, which is in contradiction to the Dayton and Paris accords' Kasagic told Radio Kragujevac.

He said special U.N. rapporteur for human rights Elisabeth Rehn would from Feb. 4-8 visit Bosnia and had requested a visit to Srebrenica, eastern Bosnia, and Prijedor, northwestern Bosnia.

The Bosnian Serb authorities will permit Rehn to visit Srebrenica, Prijedor and Ljubija mine, just as we allowed her to visit Prijedor and Novi Grad in northeastern Bosnia on a previous visit, said Kasagic.

He said Rehn had asked to visit Sanski Most in western Bosnia, where Muslims are holding a large number of Serb prisoners, but the Muslim Sarajevo government refused to grant permission.

B-H: Bosnian Croats: No Croats Released in Exchanges

LD2201113196 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Not a single Croat has been released so far in the exchanges of prisoners in Bosnia-Herzegovina, agreed in the Dayton agreement, the head of the office for the exchange of prisoners and missing persons of the government of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, Berislav Pusic, has said in Mostar. He said that the Bosnia-Herzegovina army had so far released 120 Serbs, but that it still held 318. According to Pusic, the Bosnian Serbs have released 68 Muslim captives, but 151 Muslims and Croats are still being held.

He also warned that the Serb military and civilian authorities in Banja Luka were acting increasingly independently from the authorities in Pale, and that the Banja Luka authorities rejected all the agreements on the exchange of prisoners in Bosnia- Herzegovina signed by the Pale general Zvonimir Tolimir.

B-H: Vice President Ganic Discusses IFOR, Future

AU2101150996 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Jan 96 p 3

[Report on interview with Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic by Livia Klingl in Sarajevo; date not given: "'We Will Defend Bosnia and Its Borders']

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic is vice president of Bosnia and vice president of the Muslim-Croat Federation. He gave KURIER his assessment of NATO's IFOR [Implementation Force] troops, one month into their presence in Bosnia:

"The IFOR troops are enormously strong, no party will offer any resistance, that is why things will develop as laid down in the Dayton agreement. The United Nations has failed in Bosnia. Let us see what NATO can do. The question is what happens when they withdraw."

— On the instability of the Muslim-Croat Federation and secession tendencies, he said:

"I am working hard with the Croats. Apart from that: Why should Croatia incorporate part of Bosnia, if it can have influence on the entire country?"

— On the position of the Serb Republic:

"The Serbian side wants to use the Dayton agreement to annex part of Bosnia when the IFOR troops withdraw. But nobody can live here comfortably when the country is divided. They want to squeeze us into a small enclave. But we will defend Bosnia and its borders, we do not have any other option. We know why a genocide happened here. Many international politicians have told me unofficially: If we, the Bosniaks, were Christians, the genocide would not have happened."

— On the equal treatment by IFOR of the aggressor and the main victim:

"IFOR General Smith says that he is sticking to the paper form of the Dayton agreement. A big public experiment is being conducted here. The decision on where the world is heading is made in our country. If "cleansings" are tolerated, war and expulsions will take place in dozens of other countries in East Europe."

B-H: Prlic: Herzeg-Bosna Ministate To Dissolve

AU2101143996 Paris AFP in English 0227 GMT 21 Jan 96

[By Dimitri Kochko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 21 (AFP) — The mini-state set up by the Croats of western Bosnia will be dissolved as soon as the Moslem-Croat Federation is ready to govern, a top Bosnian Croat leader told AFP.

Jadranko Prlic the "prime minister" of Herzeg Bosna - the Croats' name for their mini-state - said however that "many technical problems" still remained to be overcome.

In an interview with AFP, Prlic who is deputy prime minister and probably defence minister in the future federal government, said that until such a government was set up, the authorities of Herzeg Bosna would remain in place.

"Somebody has to carry on with the job," he said.

Under the Dayton peace accords for Bosnia, signed in December in Paris, all mini-states have to be dissolved within a month from the adoption by the Moslem-Croat Federation of basic legislation on the government and its institutions. This legislation was passed on December 21.

"We have these laws but we have not chosen the government. I think that this month or next month, the president and the vice- president of the federation will choose the government," Prlic said, while refusing to confirm the oft-cited date of January 30.

"The government of Herzeg Bosna will be dissolved on the day we have a federal government, according to the accords," he said.

At such a time, he said there would be a "transfer of authority to the federal government and of other activities to cantonal bodies".

"We are in a process of transformation, in accordance with the federal constitution and the Dayton agreements," he said.

Prlic was vehemently critical of the present government of Bosnia saying "they don't know how to do anything." He castigated "the incompence of the people who lead this state" saying it was largely to blame for the "disaster" which has befallen the country.

"You only listen to Silajdzic (Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic), (President Alija) Izetbegovic, (Foreign Minister Muhamed) Sacirbegovic: No Croat has the right to talk about Bosnia- Herzegovina," Prlic said.

He said the government of Bosnia was "a Moslem government and that is the main reason why we want to change it."

"We have that chance with the Federation and it is not so bad if we do not have Herzeg Bosna because now we have the Federation," he added.

He said the situation in the divided city of Mostar was "totally unacceptable" and the solution lay in "the implementation of the Federation".

Not everyone wanted the Federation, he said though he said in the event of a referendum on the issue a majority of Croats would vote in favour.

He said the decision to set up the Croat entity in 1991 had been justified. "Herzeg Bosna is a way of defending not only Croats. Herzeg Bosna was the main means of existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said in an allusion to the region's prosperity.

He said Croats who represented only 17 percent of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina before the war, could not have accepted the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state.

"Today we have a kind of solution," he said.

Prlic also admitted that organised crime had become a major problem and that a report by the European Union administrator of Mostar claiming that "Croat warlords" were linked with criminal gangs and ultra-nationalist militias was "more or less true".

In response to a question on abuses attributed to Bosnian Croat HVO nationalist militia, Prlic said he regretted that the media focussed on these rather than on the economic innovations made by Herzeg Bosna.

"We have nationalists, but we are a very small nation," he said.

"Who was in the most dangerous position during the war? Me. Because I am not a great extremist," Prlic added.

B-H: Bosnian Croats Pledge Support for Federation

LD1901230096 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Forty-four Bosniak families have returned to Jajce, and many more are expected to return soon, UNHCR spokesman Chris Janowski said today. This return is certainly an important step forward in the implementation of the agreement on the federation.

The situation has also improved significantly in Mostar, the federation's key town. Bosne i Hercegovine TV reporter Samela Fazlic went to the [Croat-held] western bank of the river Neretva in Mostar.

[Begin recording] [Fazlic] The Bosne i Hercegovine TV team is reporting from the western part of Mostar today. We will tell you what officials in the Croat part of Bosnia-Herzegovina's population think about the Dayton agreement and its implementation in the field.

[Jadranko Prlic, deputy prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, identified by caption] Emotions ran high and it became clear once again that the smallest of incidents is enough to cause an avalanche and put in jeopardy all indisputable achievements of the previous period.

In this respect I am an optimist. The situation will continue to calm down. After the latest initiatives and visits by Mr. Kinkel and a greater involvement of the Americans in the situation in Mostar, I think that the solutions which have been more or less agreed upon will be implemented.

Herzeg-Bosnia will be reorganized in line with the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only those state institutions which form part of the federation will remain in existence, as well as cantons and municipalities which function as part of grand counties [vele-zupa] or cantons [kanton], depending on which variant of the language [Croat or Muslim] we use. Herzeg-Bosnia will most probably become a political association — I say most probably because a political decision on this has not yet been made — the Croat community of Herzeg-Bosnia which will include Croats from all areas. It will have an exclusively political character. It will not have any competences at the level of the state.

[Ivan Bender, chairman of the club of Croat deputies in the assembly of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, identified by caption] Yesterday we had a meeting: the most senior representatives of the Croat policy in the territory of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia met with representatives of municipal authorities in Stolac. We reached concrete agreements and set deadlines and conditions for what needs to be done to solve the outstanding issue in Stolac and settle it in the way it was agreed in Dayton.

[Fazlic] Does that mean that Bosniaks will be able to return to their homes in Stolac very soon?

[Bender] The ball is now in the court of international players, or rather, the institutions which need to invest some money to repair facilities sufficiently to make habitation possible. At the moment there are no facilities for accommodation because refugees from central Bosnia are occupying all available accommodation. If some money — and as far as I have been informed this has been agreed — is provided, the agreed return of 100 families can take place, and I believe that the process will continue. [end recording]

B-H: Tuzla's Beslagic Rejects Ethnic Municipalities

AU2201094096 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 96 p 9

[Interview with Selim Beslagic, mayor of Tuzla and leader of the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats, by Damir Karakas; place and date not given: "In Tuzla There Is Neither a Minority Nor a Majority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Unlike many Bosniak leaders in Bosnian cities, who try to avoid meeting with Croatian journalists in every possible way, Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic, who came to this post as a member of Markovic's [former Yugoslav prime minister] Reformists, thinks in quite the opposite way. Therefore no journalist who wants to talk to him will be turned down, which testifies to Beslagic's experience and confidence as a politician.

[Karakas] It is said that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on the 1974 Constitution, actually lives on in Tuzla. Do you, Mr. Beslagic, agree with that view?

[Beslagic] You know, I would be happy if people here were judged by their qualities, human and professional, rather than by what party or religion they belong to. It seems to me that here in Tuzla we have succeeded in maintaining such a view and I am really happy about it. In addition, if values of human rights and freedoms are present here as well, I will be quite satisfied with your assessment about Bosnia and the 1974 Constitution.

There Is No Freedom Without Freedom of Movement

[Karakas] Well, do such values exist in Tuzla and what about the rights of Croats in this region, who are a minority and dissatisfied with many things?

[Beslagic] First, I completely disagree with the view that in this region anyone is in a majority. I am convinced that somebody here in Tuzla has maliciously suggested to you that some in Tuzla are a minority and some a majority. In my opinion, a major problem has arisen because of the war conditions, which have considerably contributed to people both here and elsewhere being more aware of such matters than of others, because they do not have any chance of working.

However, if the northern corridor were to be pierced and if we in Tuzla, in the northeastern region or the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton or County (I do not want to offend anybody by these terms ["county" is a term preferred by Croats]), managed to give a stimulus to private businesses in particular, I guarantee that such stories about minorities and majorities would quickly disappear and people would be distinguished only by their being more or less successful.

[Karakas] When will the Tuzla region reach such a phase? Will it be soon?

[Beslagic] All I can tell you now is that in this phase all the tensions that used to cause conflict will vanish, which is the most important thing. I think that it would absolutely restore trust among people, which is now most necessary, and it would all result in our desire to be free wherever we go. I do not see it as freedom if I have to obtain endless permits to be able to move freely or to come here via Mostar, Banja Luka, or Bihac.

No Nation Municipalities

[Karakas] When you talk about giving a stimulus to the economy, are Tuzla and its surroundings expecting much from the arrival of IFOR [Implementation Force]?

[Beslagic] When IFOR was arriving, people were making many calculations, but this is no solution. We are looking for a revival of the economy as the only real solution. Of course, we expect IFOR to help us with this and have good reasons for doing so, because they will be using our operative system of building. [sentence as published] This is, for instance, one way of reviving the economy in this region.

[Karakas] Economics is necessarily bound up with politics and, since the Croats in the Tuzla region no longer want to participate in the authorities, will they be allowed to do this?

[Beslagic] I have already said that the Tuzla region was defended by people, regardless of their national or party membership. With its status as a city, Tuzla will have more municipalities, but I must stress that they will not be Croatian, Muslim, or Serb, but rather municipalities of citizens. We will not be organizing municipalities on the basis of any ethnic formula, but rather following criteria that will enable it to survive. What is the use of a municipality that has neither roads nor a water supply system? The people will choose who will best lead them and the people should vote according to policies rather than party affiliations.

[Box, page 9]

[Karakas] Some Croats say if the organization of Croatian municipalities here in the Tuzla region is not allowed, then they will start leaving, because they cannot obtain their rights here.

[Beslagic] I completely disagree with this, because Croats who hold such views have certain properties back in Croatia and they can hardly wait for such a thing to happen. You have to speak to ordinary people. We must not allow the disintegration of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

[Karakas] Does this mean that a civil, multi-ethnic, multi- cultural Bosnia does have prospects?

[Beslagic] Absolutely, and I deeply believe in this. If I did not, I would not have fought for it at all.

B-H: Mostar Freedom of Movement by 8 Feb Desired

AU1901213496 Paris AFP in English
2057 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 19 (AFP) — The EU administration in Mostar is hoping to get feuding Moslems and Croats to agree to restore freedom of movement in the divided city within three weeks, an EU spokesman said Friday.

Dragan Gasic said the proposal for the February 8 deadline on freedom of movement, stipulated by the Dayton peace accords for Bosnia, had been put to the two parties who had yet to accept it.

On Wednesday, the same spokesman said the freedom of movement deadline had been "de facto" postponed from an initial date of January 20.

Gasic earlier said that reunification of the city's Moslem and Croat police forces — also required under the Bosnian peace agreements — had also been put back from January 20.

But he later insisted the January 20 deadline applied only to freedom of movement, not to the police, even though it had been widely accepted and reported that this was the case under a Mostar reunification accord agreed in Dayton, Ohio, in November.

The city is seen as a litmus test for the Bosnian peace accords and a key gauge of the stability of the Moslem-Croat Federation, considered a cornerstone of efforts to bring peace to Bosnia.

Also Friday, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke said in Bonn that the city was his "major concern" following violent clashes there earlier this month between Moslems and Croats that left two people dead and two wounded on each side.

A devastated no-man's-land divides the city, and since December only women, children and the elderly have been able to cross from one side to the other. After the violence earlier this month, even those crossings were suspended except for journalists.

B-H: Mostar EU Administrator Accepts Croat Policemen

AU2001153396 Paris AFP in English
1449 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Jan 20 (AFP) — The EU administrator of Mostar, Hans Koschnick, said Saturday he had agreed to an offer from Zagreb to dispatch Croatian policemen to restore peace and order in the troubled southeast Bosnian town.

"Croatia offered it and we took it," Koschnick told reporters after a meeting with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb.

The policemen will come under Koschnick's command and will initially go on patrol with European officers, then with policemen from the Moslem and Croat sectors.

Koschnick said Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak would go to Mostar on Monday [22 January] to discuss the number of policemen to be sent and their arrival date.

The establishment of common police patrols in the Moslem east and Croatian west is a first step towards a unified police force.

The divided city of Mostar was placed under EU administration in July 1994 following 11 month of fierce fighting between Moslems and Croats.

The Croat and Moslem mayors of Mostar had requested that the policemen be sent after clashes broke out again earlier this month leaving two people dead and two wounded on each side.

Koschnick also confirmed that municipal elections would take place in May, and added: "I will give the administration of the city to the elected mayor."

The city is seen as a test case for the stability of the Moslem- Croat federation called for in the Dayton peace accords and considered a cornerstone of efforts to bring peace to Bosnia.

B-H: Mostar Croats Oppose Croat Police Force

AU2101143896 Paris AFP in English
0111 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jan 21 (AFP) — Croats in the divided Bosnian city of Mostar are against a proposal, approved by Mostar's EU administrator, to bring in Croatian police to help restore order, the local Croat radio said Saturday quoting the president of the Croat-Moslem Federation.

According to Kresimir Zubak, quoted by the radio, the Croats in western Mostar saw no point in the deployment of Croatian police.

Zubak could not be contacted Saturday for further comment.

Earlier the European Union administrator of Mostar, Hans Koschnick, said in Zagreb he had accepted Croatia's offer to send police to the troubled southeast Bosnian town.

"Croatia offered it and we took it," Koschnick told reporters after a meeting with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

The Croatian offer was made about 10 days ago in response to a request from the mayor of the Moslem sector of the city Safet Orucevic.

These policemen will come under Koschnick's command and will initially go on patrol with European officers, then with policemen from the Moslem and Croat sectors.

Koschnick said Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak would go to Mostar on Monday to discuss the number of policemen to be sent and their arrival date.

The Bosnian Croat police in Mostar has been accused by the EU administration of trying to hold up moves towards reunifying the city which was placed under EU administration in July 1994 after 11 months of Moslem-Croat combats.

In a report, Koschnick accused members of the Croat police of being in league with local "warlords" and "criminal gangs".

The establishment of common police patrols in the Moslem east and Croatian west is a first step towards a unified police force.

The city is seen as a test case for the stability of the Moslem- Croat federation which is regarded as a cornerstone of efforts to bring peace to Bosnia.

B-H: Croat-Muslim Tension in Usora Flares Up 20 Jan

LD2001182796 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Once again, the situation in Usora is tense. Boro Jelic reports:

[Jelic] Just when it seemed that the accumulated problems in the Usora area would finally be solved, units of the Tesanj civilian police ensured that new incidents would break out. Let us start from the beginning.

The Bosniak authorities, with help from their army forces, wanted to take advantage of the 2 km withdrawal from the separation lines in order to establish Bosniak civilian authority in Croat areas. IFOR [Implementation

Force] prevented any large-scale armed clashes. Despite the agreement between army representatives and the Croat Defense Council [HVO], which envisaged the withdrawal of the Tesanj civilian police, the Bosniak authorities on 19 January once again dispatched small police units to Ularice.

Frightened people protested openly outside the police station, clearly showing their disapproval and bitterness. This problem was discussed at a five hour meeting held at the IFOR base in Krasevo, with the mediation of General Thompson, commander of IFOR's Nordic brigade; Brigadier General Drago Dragicevic, commander of HVO's Vitez operational zone; and Brig. Gen. Sakib Mahmuljin, commander of the 3d Corps; with aides.

Agreement was reached with guarantees from Gen. Thompson and IFOR on the separation of operational zones and on the Usora police station having overall control of controversial areas. Only an hour after the meeting, Tesanj police forces stopped one of the senior officers who attended the talks, who was accompanied by two military policemen, and forcibly removed them from the vehicle and subjected them to physical abuse. IFOR was immediately informed of the incident and the commander of the 37th division promised to launch an inquiry and bring criminal proceedings against the culprits.

So, the drama called Usora goes on, but no one is certain which act it is and when the epilogue will be played. Optimists would say — let us move on.

B-H: Zubak Expresses Optimism on Mostar Situation

LD2001200396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation, was a guest of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio today. His interview focused on problems in Mostar and central Bosnia. Without saying anything against the media's duty to report on incidents, President Zubak stressed the need to report on positive results as well. Asked what he believes are the causes of the misunderstandings in Mostar, the president of the federation said:

[Begin Zubak recording] Unfortunately, there are individuals and groups on both sides that do not think the project of the federation is in the interest — I am now speaking about the Croats — of the Croat nation. In the same way, I think that in the [Muslim-held] eastern part of Mostar there are people who do not think that the project of Mostar as an urban center consisting of six municipalities is in the interest of the Bosniak Muslim nation. These people do not support this aspect of the Dayton agreement and they only need a spark to flare up an incident in the situation in which no agreement was reached to reorganize Mostar into six municipalities by the new year.

During the German foreign minister's latest visit to Mostar, it was agreed that all outstanding issues must be solved within 15 days of his visit. The primary issue is setting up the six municipalities, or rather, drawing up the municipalities' boundaries. The joint police force must start functioning, in line with the memorandum on Mostar, and complete freedom of movement for everyone — not only for women, the elderly, and children, but for all the people regardless of whether they are military conscripts — needs to be ensured.

I am an optimist. If the local leaders on both sides fail to ensure this, it was decided that outstanding issues will be put to arbitration. Hans Koschnick should be the arbitrator. It is not ruled out that he will ask for help from the Americans. [end recording]

B-H: Croats Fear Takeover of Tuzla Checkpoint

LD2001183296 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We learned today from sources close to IFOR [Implementation Force] that IFOR held a meeting with officials from the [Bosnian Croat] Ravne-Brcko police station. The sources reported that the officials from the Ravne-Brcko police station had informed IFOR officers that police officials from the Tuzla-Podrinje canton plan to forcibly take control of the checkpoint in the village of Cerik on the Zupanja-Tuzla road in the Croat municipality of Ravne-Brcko.

This checkpoint controls traffic across the so-called [Bosnian Serb] corridor in Posavina, where there have been previous conflicts between officials of the police of the Croat Republic of Herzeg- Bosna and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. IFOR tried to solve these conflicts by stationing two policemen from each of the two police forces, in addition to its own policemen.

However, as we learned from an IFOR source, the police of Bosnia- Herzegovina's Interior Ministry does not seem to be satisfied with IFOR's solution and wants to take exclusive control of that checkpoint in any possible way. IFOR representatives stressed at the end of the meeting that they would not allow any side to use force under any circumstances.

B-H: Serbs, Muslims Set Up Checkpoints, Impose Fines

LD2101223896 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] People who have traveled along the Orasje-Tuzla road report that Serbs have set up three police checkpoints. One of the checkpoints is in the village of Lepnica, 5 km south of Orasje. Another point is at a crossroads in Loncari at the crossing with the Serb Brcko-Banja Luka corridor. The third point is in the village of Pelagicevo, 15 km west of Brcko.

Bosnian Serb civilian police are controlling the traffic, and as we have learned, have imposed traffic fines of 10 German marks for failure to use safety belts and to display registration plates. In addition, Bosnian Serb civilian police are charging customs duties for the transport of certain goods, primarily brandy and timber. The customs duty is 10 German marks per item.

Passengers have also said they encountered problems with the Bosnian Muslim police at the Cerike checkpoint in the Ravne-Brcko municipality. Bosnian Muslims have set up their own checkpoint some 500 meters south of a Bosnian Croat checkpoint and have begun halting vehicles with Herzeg-Bosna registration plates and demanding that drivers take down the plates, especially if traveling to Tuzla.

B-H: Muslims, Croats Move Into Western Bosnia Towns

LD2101132696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1244 GMT 21 Jan 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 21 (TANJUG) — Muslims and Croats are moving into the western Bosnian towns of Bosanski Petrovac, Kljuc, and Sanski Most, which the Dayton accords placed under Muslim-Croat control.

The latest figures of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is engaged in humanitarian programs in that area, show that about 15,000 people lived in Petrovac, about 30,000 in Sanski Most, and about 37,000 in Kljuc before the Muslim-Croat army offensive in September last year and that 90-95 percent of them had been Serbs.

Following the exodus of more than 150,000 Serbs from western Bosnia into other parts of Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) and the signing of the Dayton accords, the authorities of the Muslim-Croat federation started populating these three towns with Muslims and Croats from Republika Srpska.

According to the ICRC, there were 5,000 people in Petrovac, 3,500 in Kljuc, and 6,500 in Sanski Most in December, mostly Muslims and some Croats.

The local authorities plan to bring another 10,000-20,000 people to settle in these towns by the end of the year.

UNHCR representatives in Geneva told a press conference on Friday that they were satisfied with the return of displaced persons within Bosnia.

Thanks to actions by local Serb authorities, about 15 Muslim families have returned to their homes in Banja Luka and Prijedor, so that such a course of events makes room for optimism, the UNHCR said.

The population of Petrovac, Sanski Most and Kljuc are mostly women and children. Food is secured by the UNHCR and some other humanitarian organizations, and the ICRC is working on a program to restore electricity and water and secure medical aid for the health centers in these areas.

According to the latest figures, about 15,000 Serbs from Muslim and Croat parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina have found refuge in the northern Bosnian Serb town of Doboj, so that exactly half the town's population are now refugees.

Expelled civilians are having a very difficult time this winter because there are severe shortages of food, despite appeals from humanitarian organizations.

'In the latest distribution of food to refugees arriving from Ozren and Vogosca (in central Bosnia), we spent the very last reserves of food, although we distributed the smallest possible quantities, Doboj Red Cross President Dusan Savic said.

B-H: Presidency Sets Up New State Security Service

AU2101213996 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Keeper of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Safety"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The day before yesterday the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina passed a decision to form the Agency for Investigation and Documentation [AID] of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Simultaneously, the Presidency appointed Bakir Alispahic the agency's director.

According to the information of DNEVNI AVAZ, the agency is a state institution with the status of a legal entity. It is run by a director who, as the statement says, is appointed by the Presidency. His duties and responsibilities equal those of any other Bosnia-Herzegovina minister. The director is accountable for his work to the Presidency, while the assembly keeps vigil over the legality of the agency (AID).

A court statement from the Presidency session at which it was decided to form AID actually fails to reflect a very important democratic step forward in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the very delicate intelligence and security matters as well as that the new organization excludes the undesired politization of the work of such services. This represents de facto a transition to the Western concept of organizing a security service that subtly avoids a parallel with the previous regime and the remnants of KOS [counter-intelligence service] in this sphere. With the formation of the AID of Bosnia-Herzegovina, our country in many aspects for the first time got its own institution that resembles the U.S. National Security Council, which is currently headed by Anthony Lake. A year ago neighboring Croatia also decided to set up such a service. Its first director was Josip Manolic, and today it is headed by Miroslav Tudjman, the son of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

In all countries of this world such agencies are headed by the people who enjoy maximum trust of the state. What is perhaps the most interesting for domestic observers is that all leading people of such services by virtue of their appointment become off limits for the public.

Let us recall that according to the Dayton accord a portion of the present obligations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be transferred to the cantonal level, that is, to the cantonal police and services. The formation and the work of this agency will thus contribute considerably to the preservation of security functions of all Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: Presidency Disbands 7th Army Corps

AU2201134396 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 18-25 Jan 96 p 6

[Report by S. Hodzic: "Last March of the Winner"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] By a decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the 7th and youngest corps of our Army has been disbanded. This is the second corps to be disbanded during the war. In January 1994, as is well known, the then youngest 6th Corps was disbanded. The 7th Corps "lived" for 21 months and one day. It was formed on 7 April 1994, and disbanded on 8 January 1996.

Why has the 7th Corps been disbanded? Although the state presidency did not explain its decision, it is not hard to find "a reason." As a matter of fact there are several reasons, but the basic one is — to use military terminology — that the 7th Corps had completed the combat mission set to it on 7 April 1994 by the general staff, that is, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. The strategic mission of the 7th Corps was to liberate our country in the Vrbas-Komar region. When the corps was formed all the key facilities in this region were under occupation. They are all now in the possession of the Republic, that is the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

B-H: Sacirbegovic, Slovenia's Thaler Brief Press

AU1901212396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic met Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler. After the meeting, the two minister held a news conference. Stevo Latinovic has the details:

[Begin recording] [Latinovic] Today's visit by Minister Thaler and the talks held with his host are the first since the state of peace was established in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, following several attempts, Minister Thaler's first visit to Sarajevo.

The reason I and the delegation accompanying me have arrived in Sarajevo is to confirm the policy Slovenia has been carrying out towards Bosnia-Herzegovina in the last four to five years, as well as to agree about our future cooperation. What was Slovenia's policy during these horrible years, Minister Thaler asked himself and said the following:

[Thaler, in Slovene] All this time, Slovenia has supported the whole, unified, independent, and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. We have advocated this stand in the international forums in charge of your country.

[Latinovic] According to Minister Thaler, the greatest significance of the Dayton accord is that Bosnia-Herzegovina has remained whole within internationally recognized borders and, on that basis, it is Slovenia's intention to prove itself to be Bosnia- Herzegovina's best friend.

Thus, the delegation includes the most significant businessmen, who will pave the road for economic cooperation. The talks also touched upon the forthcoming visit by President Kucan, who is to arrive in February at President Izetbegovic's invitation. These are the main topics of the talks regarding bilateral relations. Ensuing from these links are the humane ones, the refugees. In these hard times for Bosnia-Herzegovina, 70,000 refugees from Bosnia- Herzegovina were in Slovenia.

Today, there are 18,000, which Thaler considers to be an improvement. The Slovene Government is taking care of these refugees, particularly the children. The children are going to school, from elementary school to university.

Also discussed were multilateral issues, [word indistinct] are important for the two countries, particularly regarding the succession of the former Yugoslavia.

[Thaler] Regarding our side of the group, we would like to maintain the firm coordination and communication among the four countries — the successors to the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], that is, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — FYROM], Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia — which has been restored and has worked well over the recent several months, directed toward achieving a just succession to the former state.

[Latinovic] About his impressions upon arrival in Sarajevo, Zoran Thaler says that his first impression was that this is a city from another planet, a ghost city. However, after half an hour, he saw that the city is nevertheless living and that was encouraging.

The correspondents were then addressed by the host, Minister Sacirbegovic:

[Sacirbegovic] We are very grateful to Slovenia for its political and diplomatic support to date, the support regarding our refugees, the support in aid, and the help now in the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I also think one can see the times when a cooperation on an equal footing will come, a partnership between Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that these are key steps, now beginning.

This is why we should see this visit as a door closing on some old times and opening on some more abundant opportunities for both our states. [end recording]

B-H: SR's Buha Views Future of Bosnia, Sarajevo

AU2001200096 Vienna KURIER in German
20 Jan 96 p 4

[Interview with Serb Republic [SR] Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha by Livia Klingl; place and date not given: "'Bosnia As a State — That Will Not Work Out'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Klingl] According to the Dayton agreement, Sarajevo must be unified under Bosnian control on 19 March. What are the Serbs to do: stay or leave?

[Buha] The Dayton agreement does not say anything about the formation of a multiethnic city — that would mean that the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims organize their own communities, including educational system and police. We want autonomy for the four districts ("Serbian Sarajevo").

[Klingl] IFOR [Implementation Force] says that the Dayton plan will not be modified.

[Buha] IFOR Chief Smith could extend the deadline. If the deadline were extended, say, to the end of August, houses could be swapped or sold by then. If people are given a chance to take their belongings with them, this will change a great deal.

[Klingl] What is your opinion on Serbs setting fire to the houses that they are leaving?

[Buha] Unfortunately, this is a common practice.

[Klingl] Do you think that Bosnia will be preserved as a state?

[Buha] No. That will not work out any more. The international community should take that into account and find a final solution.

[Klingl] Is the Serb Republic planning a referendum to become a federation with Serbia?

[Buha] We will see — the Croats also want to join Croatia. "Herzeg-Bosna" (the self-proclaimed Croatian republic of Bosnia) has our support.

[Klingl] Would such secessions be possible without a war?

[Buha] Why not? There are internationally accepted borders in Bosnia now. The world should accept a final division — Kissinger and Handke [Austrian writer] have done so.

[Klingl] Do you feel betrayed by Serbian President Milosevic?

[Buha] As far as Sarajevo is concerned, I am completely surprised. Sarajevo used to be the second-largest Serbian city. It has been given up for nothing.

B-H: Krajisnik, Steiner Discuss Implementation

LD2101221396 Pale Srpska Televizija
in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb Republic assembly, today discussed the implementation of the Dayton agreement with Michael Steiner, the deputy high representative of the international community. No major progress was made after the meeting, one in a series of meetings focusing on finding a more just solution for the status of Serb Sarajevo. The only thing one can say is that the political struggle for Serb Sarajevo is gaining momentum and that we are reaching the stage at which the international community will have to make a definite stand on whether to acknowledge and accept Serb demands or turn a deaf ear, thus becoming the only culprit for a possible mass exodus from Serb Sarajevo.

The implementation of the peace agreement will not be called into question by the Serb Republic [RS], but there are serious obstacles on the part of the Muslim authorities. This was the tone of the meeting today between Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb Republic assembly, and Michael Steiner, deputy high representative for civilian issues. Once again the focus was on the most sensitive issue — Serb Sarajevo, but no new proposals were heard. Steiner and Krajisnik made statements after the talks:

[Begin recording] [Steiner, in English] Mr. Krajisnik reassures me that his side continues to be ready to fulfill it [peace agreement] in all its aspects. So this talk had been in the framework of the regular discussion that is necessary in the period of implementation of the peace agreement. I think we both have the intention to continue this dialogue in all aspects of the peace agreement.

[Krajisnik] We asked Mr. Steiner to intervene and help us in order that we may resolve the current problems in the best possible way. We asked for three things that are now important: IFOR [Implementation Force] should do everything in its power to prevent incidents; incidents threaten peace and the continuation of trust building. Second, IFOR should be asked to ensure the quickest possible response to our request for lifting the sanctions on the Drina [against the RS], since we have fulfilled all our obligations laid down by the Dayton agreement. Third, the violation of the Dayton agreement regarding the release of prisoners is a serious problem, since our side is ready to release POW's at any given moment. We are concerned that the Muslims are not prepared for it and are stalling the release of the POW's.

The status of Sarajevo was also on the agenda, but I would not like to repeat what we have already said. We must continue our active commitment in this direction. I think there is now greater optimism regarding this issue. [end recording]

B-H: Serbs Deny Claims of War Crimes in Srebrenica

LD2101221796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2113 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 21 Jan (SRNA) — Dragan Kijac, interior minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS], has confirmed that John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, has toured some localities around Srebrenica but has failed to find any evidence of alleged crimes against Muslims.

In a statement to SRNA this evening, Kijac said that Shattuck was allowed to move freely and that in Zvornik he was briefed by the U.S. official about the latter's mission.

In reaction to Shattuck's statement, carried by some world agencies, that "schools, a football ground, and a warehouse were exactly the same as described by the alleged "eyewitnesses to mass executions," Kijac said:

"It is natural that the people who used to live in the area know well what these buildings look like, and I cannot see what is strange about it. There is no need for us to remove them."

RS Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic today denied claims by the Muslim side and some international circles about the alleged crimes against the Muslims in the areas of Srebrenica and Prijedor. He said that there was no evidence for such claims. [passge omitted]

B-H: Austrian TV Reports on Bosnians in Serbian Camp

AU2001171096 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 19 Jan 96

[Report by Veronika Seyr in central Serbia, including statements by unidentified Muslim refugees and Sefko Alomerovic of the Serbian Helsinki Committee; statements in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] When the Serbs stormed the Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa last year, some 1,000 Muslims were able to escape. They surrendered to Serbia and have been held in a Serb police camp, completely isolated from the public. ORF is the only television station that has been granted access to the prison and was allowed to talk to the men held there. The survivors of Srebrenica do not rule out a massacre in the former enclave. Nor can they confirm it.

[Seyr] July 13 1995: The Bosnian Serbs move into the Muslim enclave of Srebrenica. The men are taken away separately, several thousand of them disappear completely. The Serbian Army hunts down stragglers in the forests. Some 1,000 men are able to flee across the Drin to Serbia. A secluded valley high up in the mountains; Mitropolje, one of the prison camps. This is the first time that pictures from here get to the outside world.

A total of 450 Muslims from Srebrenica and Zepa are being held there. They have neither the status of refugees, nor of prisoners of war. No prospect of exchange or release. They are kept alive with two scoops of bean soup a day — a life with terrible memories.

[First man] We were trapped near Zepa. Shots and grenades were fired from all sides. We could only surrender to Serbia.

[Seyr] Police have not been able to prove any of them guilty of war crimes despite long interrogations.

[Second man] All this is not so bad. The worst thing is that I do not have any news from my family.

[Seyr] A 15-minute walk around the courtyard, closely watched by the police. That is the only thing there is to do — and hoping for news.

[Third man] They took my brother away. That is all I could see.

[Seyr] The Red Cross comes to the camp twice a month. All the men have been registered. Some of them have got into contact with members of their families.

[Fourth man] I did not get through to Tuzla. It was hell. Dead bodies everywhere — and destroyed houses.

[Fifth man] Twenty-three members of my family were killed; imagine that, 23.

[Sixth man] When we started out for Tuzla, we were 15,000. I know for sure that no more than 5,000 got through alive. Where are the remaining 10,000?

[Seyr] None of the men dare speak of mass graves.

[Seventh man] That is impossible. We have heard through various channels that at least 3,000 men are doing forced labor near Srebrenica. Nobody can kill that many people. They are living somehow, and they will turn up again.

[Seyr] Meanwhile, the Serbian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights has revealed new terrors.

[Sefko Alomerovic] We have evidence that at least 180 registered Muslim refugees were handed over to the Mladic army by Serbia.

[Seyr] Belgrade airport last night: Several countries have agreed to take in 150 Muslims from the Serbian camps. A new beginning in Australia, Ireland, and the United States.

B-H: Withdrawal of Mujahidin 'Invented' by Media

AU2001214796 (Clandestine) Radio Krajina in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Slobodan Raketic, president of the Parliamentary National Party, stated that the story about the withdrawal of the mujahidin from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was invented by the media, because out of several thousand mujahidin, only a couple of hundred really withdrew from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and one wonders what happened to the rest of them. At a news conference held today in Belgrade, Raketic warned about the half-million-dollar investment into weapons and training of Bosnian Muslims which, he says, clearly shows that the goal is not to quench the fires of war in Bosnia, but to put the Serb Republic in a militarily inferior position. Raketic emphasized that, on the other hand, the traffic between the FRY and the Serb Republic is controlled by international observers, which not only hinders the cooperation between the two countries, but also presents a violation of basic human rights.

B-H: Commentary Opposes Amnesty, Demands Justice

AU2201113296 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 96 p 7

[Commentary by Zehrudin Isakovic: "Is It Worth Pardoning Those Who Do Not Want to Be Pardoned?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In recent days the (incomplete) Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina made the kind of decision whose proper formulation tends to brings much less benefit than the potential damage caused by failing to think it through to all its consequences. You have probably guessed that I mean the declaration on the amnesty. How much doubt, cynicism, and even morbidity, if you will, that this decision has created is illustrated by the reality in Sarajevo. Precisely when the Bosnian Assembly gave the green light to the government to work out a precise definition of the act on amnesty, a mortar shell was fired from the occupied part of Grbavica district [Serb-occupied cemtral suburb of Sarajevo], hitting a tram packed with people (killing one woman and wounding, slightly or seriously, another 19 people). Although there have been many more worse crimes than this in terms of the number of victims, the symbolism of this latest one may be the strongest. In the most blatant way this crime has disclosed what those who are to be pardoned think about the amnesty and those who have declared it. Thus, right from the outset, a question has arisen about the very foundation of the amnesty declared: Is it right to pardon those who do not want to be pardoned? Although the problem is not so simple, this aspect of it can be compared to the situation when you release somebody from prison who does not want to be released at all.

Alas, the shell fired at the tram is not the only illustration of the atmosphere in which this amnesty was being discussed. As we have already reported, Irfan Ajanovic, who was recently released from a Chetnik prison, has met with Ivo Lozancic, the man who actually sent him there. The chances that Lozancic might eventually be punished are rather small, or as good as none. Therefore, the symbolism of this encounter is also very rich in meaning. That is, it shows us how much we were supposed to swallow to bring the war to an end or to establish at least some norms of the Federation. Yet, although the problems in Herzegovina remind us on a daily basis of how complex the Croatian aspect of amnesty is (and of all the other things that it brings forth) that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government will pass, it is obvious that a considerably more difficult part of it lies outside the borders of the Croatian-Bosniak entity. Not only because — again, at the moment when the amnesty was being discussed — Krajisnik threatened to continue the war, and not only because — must we say this? — it was precisely when the amnesty declaration was made that the news came in about an additional 8,000 Bosniaks executed in Ljubija, but also because the proportions of the crimes already known are so great and the methods used to commit them so diverse that they, like a large blanket, threaten to cover the entire national corpus of Bosnian Serbs. Once the problem is put in such a way, we find ourselves inevitably facing the dilemma that, quite certainly and at least at times, has bothered almost every citizen in the part of Bosnia-Herzegovina that underwent the aggression. In short, the dilemma is: Disregarding for a moment what Zagreb and its agents in Bosnia did, is the entire Serbian nation to blame for the genocide against the Bosniaks in Bosnia or just some of its (ir)responsible individuals?

The answer is hidden in an envelope, to use the image of old- fashioned quizzes. Before we open the first envelope, we should recall that a nation, if not merely the sum of its simple individuals, consists of its intellectual, political, and spiritual tissue. If that is so, then the conclusions unravel like this: The first envelope says that the majority of the Bosnian Serb political elite is up to its neck in crime. In the best case, Serb politicians were dumb witnesses of a massacre against people who did not have a chance to defend themselves. The second envelope says that the majority of the Bosnian Serb intellectual elite is up to its neck in crime. In the best case, Serb intellectuals were also dumb witnesses of crimes committed against these same people. The third envelope says that the majority of the Bosnian Serb spiritual elite is up to its neck in crime. Serb Orthodox priests fled head over heels from regions not controlled by Karadzic's Serb forces. There are very few exceptions to this, if any at all. Thus, those who are supposed to provide a spiritual model of behavior have earned nothing but spiritual contempt. Contempt from their own flock. The Orthodox Church was, actually, together with other Serb spiritual workers (painters, authors, and many other artists) the main ideologist and inspirer of the crime. If the Serb nation could assume the form of a knife, the Serb spiritual leaders would be its blade.

So, if the majority of the political leadership of the Bosnian (and other) Serbs is steeped in crime and if the intellectuals of the Bosnian (and other) Serbs, all of them, made up the backbone of the same crime, and if the Serb Orthodox Church, being the spiritual leader of the Bosnian (and other) Serbs, established hatred as the only comprehensible code of its own existence, what else can we think except that, for the crime against the Bosniaks, the Serbs as a nation, rather than as a sum of simple individuals, are to blame. This still does not diminish the individual courage and ordeals of a great number of individual Serbs, who had enough strength and consideration for history to resist the pressure of the crime committed by the ideologists. The tragedy of such Serbs lies in the fact that they are burdened almost every day with somebody else's responsibility, which would not be so explicit if most of them were not people with very subtle national feelings, a sort of national pride. However, unfortunately, those individuals cannot significantly influence the general conclusion, because they simply lack the critical mass to appear as a relevant factor. Basically, the same thing has happened to the Serbs as a nation as happened to the Germans as a nation in World War II. Although such historical aberrations had also occurred before, the answer to "Why do they happen at all?" has not yet been found (nor will it ever be found, most probably). Our current knowledge offers the explanation that for such things the regime in question is to blame, which is to say, the circle of people who have the power to make decisions on other people's behalf — and this is certainly not far from the truth — but also to blame is a huge amount of irrational blabbering that is far more difficult to check. But, as we know, the Germans today are a self-aware, hard-working, prosperous, and honest nation. There is no reason why the Serbs could not achieve the same in similar political and spiritual conditions.

Be that as it may, this entire story should not serve in any case as a demand for revenge or any other sort of reprisals. It is just a simple summary, an attempt to make an accurate diagnosis of what happened and is still happening in Bosnia. Because, although a diagnosis in itself does not mean much, it is at the same time a precondition for the application of the appropriate therapy. Therefore, in the context of amnesty, one has to keep in mind the above facts, as well as some as yet unrevealed implications of such a decision. Local experts on political events are almost unanimous in seeing the amnesty as a result of international pressure, whose effects are expected to appear chiefly on the psychological and political levels. Although the amnesty could bring about an easing of the atmosphere, its essential effects will be of a legal nature. Since the pressure applied by the international players will tend, on the one hand, toward pardoning all those against whom charges have not been brought in The Hague and, on the other hand, toward satisfying the almost identical demands of Serb politicians and organizations in the Federation ("Those against whom the International Tribunal decides to bring charges should be prosecuted, but for all the others we demand an amnesty, regardless of who they are," says Rajko Zivkovic, deputy chairman of the Serb Civil Council), a situation is quite possible in which just a handful of irresponsible individuals will be indicted (but will they also be convicted?) for war crimes! Besides, when we consider the recognition of the Serb Republic as a separate entity and, if it really happens that only a few of the most conspicuous individuals are punished for war crimes, then we are already quite near the end of a major absolving of responsibility for the war and the organized genocide, which will be refashioned into a just struggle of the Pale regime for the legitimate rights of the Serbs. The ultimate consequence of such a (legal) situation is the lasting destabilization of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state and, with regard to its environment, of the Bosniaks as a political nation.

Therefore it is of crucial importance that the political establishment of the Bosnian state continues to insist on the formal legal punishment of all those who took part in the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most of them will not be punished, but the state will be preserved.

Croatia: Tudjman Interviewed on Peace Accord

LD2001235196 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 20 Jan 96

["Excerpts" of interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by unidentified correspondent for Bulgarian Television after his meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev on 17 January; from the "Picture versus Picture" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] The Dayton agreement marked the end of the Balkan war. Tell us who is the final victor in that war.

[Tudjman] I think that it is important that we have restored peace, that the fighting has ended, and that we thus created conditions for a new international order in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and therefore, in the Balkans and in eastern Europe.

If you want to ask me this, of course, the truth is that Croatia—which was subjected to the aggression of the Yugo-communist army and Serbia—has come out of the war as a victor because it successfully defended its territory and inflicted defeat on Greater Serbian imperialism.

I think that it is important that all the people who championed peace are victors and that peace has won. This is important.

[Correspondent] Eastern Slavonia is still under occupation.

[Tudjman] Important international players, headed by the United States, have guaranteed a peaceful reintegration of that area, and the UN Security Council has issued a resolution on it. This is completely beyond question. I am convinced that a path to a peaceful solution will be found this year.

[Correspondent] We know that the Croat-Muslim Federation and the integration of the Bosnian Muslims is very important to you. Do you think there could be another conflict, such as the one in the former Yugoslavia, seeing that there are some Muslims extremists?

[Tudjman] There are Muslim extremists who would like to turn Bosnia into a Muslim state, but I think that despite all the difficulties, the agreement on the federation will be implemented because we Croats, the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia have accepted it, not only as a necessity, but also as something important and useful for Croatia, both for the survival of the Croat people in Bosnia and for strategic reasons.

Muslims in fact have no other solution than to lean on Croatia in order to be able to survive in Bosnia and in Europe. This is also of vital interest for the Muslims, as well as for the Croat nation. This is why I think that despite all the difficulties, the federation will have a future, of course, with support from Croatia, as envisaged by the Washington agreement.

[Correspondent] How do you respond to the accusations that Croatian authorities are authoritarian and nationalist?

[Tudjman] I think these accusations are completely unfounded because we established democratic authorities in Croatia after winning the elections. Later we had three more elections—we did not have to have them, but we did. Despite the conditions of war we had parliamentary elections and direct presidential elections. We have around 40 parties, about ten of them in the parliament.

Therefore all this criticism is coming from those who are either unaware of what is happening around them—they are not able to assess the internal situation and international circumstances in a realistic way—or are simply immature and in their own way dissatisfied because they did not take part in a grand achievement, the creation of Croatian freedom and Croatian democracy.

We should be realistic, there is also another aspect. There are remnants of the past in this criticism. Some of those who criticize are still obsessed with some kind of a Yugoslav idea. According to the 1991 census, there were 193,000—not Yugoslavs as they called themselves before—but those who did not declare their nationality. In effect this means that they do not support an independent and sovereign Croatia, they are against the aspirations of the Croatian nation.

Some people also have links with communist ideology and it is normal that we are being criticized from their ranks. It should also be mentioned that criticism from within Croatia is linked to criticism from abroad, from those European and international circles that wanted to preserve Yugoslavia. Since the breakup of Yugoslavia—and according to them Croatia is one of the main culprits for this—they have not accepted the democratic and independent Croatia and today again they are trying to find a way to return Croatia to some kind of a Yugoslav framework. They are talking about a Yugoslav confederation, an Adriatic confederation, about a union in southeastern Europe. The kind of criticism—voiced by these sources, both internal and foreign, and for these reasons—is really totally unfounded.

Croatia: Holbrooke-Tudjman Atmospherics Described

AU1901175696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 96

[Report by Nada al-Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Tudjman-Holbrooke talks were (?brief), harsh, and unpleasant at times, it has been learned from diplomatic sources in Zagreb. In the statement he made after the talks, Holbrooke gave a diplomatic statement to the correspondents, saying that he demanded of Tudjman for the Republic of Croatia to keep to the Dayton accord and therefore help the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—that is, to fulfill what was signed in the United States.

Assessing the situation in the federation, Holbrooke said: It is somewhat better now, but it is still not good. A member of Holbrooke's team, an adviser at the U.S. Embassy, tried to explain by saying that this should mean that tensions, first of all in Mostar, should be urgently reduced, lest these tensions, as he put it, grew into conflicts.

Americans see a great responsibility on the Republic of Croatia—that is, that Tudjman can and must help the tension abate. Thus, Holbrooke said the following:

The Republic of Croatia has a decisive role in the implementation of the federation. A lot depends on Zagreb. It has also been learned from diplomatic sources that Holbrooke also reproached Tudjman for the way Croatian media write and report on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as they are ever more frequently using war-mongering vocabulary when speaking about relations with Bosniaks and about the federation.

Croatia: Commentary Views Tudjman's Annual Address

AU2101150796 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jan 96

[Unattributed commentary from the "Ogledalo Stampe" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman addressed the nation before the Croatian parliament. In his annual address to the nation, which lasted over half an hour and was delivered in the Croatian parliament, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman never said a word about human rights violations and the Croatian obligation to ensure the return of all exiled Serbs. Moreover, he cynically said that the Krajina Serbs left in spite of appeals to stay.

The Croatian president devoted most of his speech to victories over the rebel Serbs, expressing thanks to particular Army units and individuals. By the way, those were commanders who died in the Bosnian Krajina. He emphasized the need for the normalization of relations with the FRY, but said nothing about the terms of that normalization, as if he takes it for granted. Tudjman said he expected a peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia and Baranja into Croatia and pointed out that the Croatian police and customs officers would soon be deployed along the borders of the Danube basin [Podunavlje]. He promised that the native Serbs would stay in the area, except those who have blood on their hands, and that refugees accommodated in eastern Slavonia and Baranja would be treated humanely.

Tudjman's statement that 1.8 percent of the Croatian population was killed in this war in Croatia and Bosnia left observers flabbergasted, as that is more than 90,000 people. He mentioned 23,500 casualties, as well as the figure of 1.8 percent. He repeated his old story about Jasenovac as a resting place of all victims where both the bones of those killed by the Communists and those killed in this war would be buried.

Tudjman would not even hear of Croatia as part of some new Yugoslavia or Euroslavia. However, he read a list of all prominent Croatian athletes and clubs. He also said that every tenth Croat was awarded a medal. All that is possible in his state, which he called a regional force.

Croatia: Commentary Highlights Demilitarization

AU2201102096 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 96 p 2

[Commentary by Bruno Lopandic: "Demilitarization—the Key to Success"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Long-awaited in international circles, a new UN Security Council resolution was adopted on Monday about the third sequential UN operation in Croatia. Despite many problems, the resolution was adopted on the last day of UNCRO's mandate, and even at first sight is very specific in many ways.

Overall, Croatian official circles have expressed the opinion that it is applicable to the Croatian interests, and as such it can parry those which are usually referred to as "advantageous and good for us." The last resolution is very important in the first place because of timing, but also because of some provisions which make this mandate significantly different than the previous ones. First, it has to do with a specific arrangement that appoints an international transitional administration, the goal of which is what Croatia has been desiring for so long—reintegration of the remaining occupied territory. The document confirms Croatian sovereignty in its internationally recognized borders and points out that the goal of the transitional administration is to achieve peaceful reintegration of that region in the Croatian constitutional system.

As a particularly advantageous fact it should be underlined that, despite demands made by representatives of the Russian Federation that the clause on Prevlaka be added to the resolution, this issue has been specified by a particular resolution, according to which Prevlaka will be placed under the supervision of UN observers. The operation itself will be based on the already achieved Erdut agreement, so it is a source of all details regarding creation of conditions for resumption of civilian life in the region. Jacques Klein, transitional administrator in the next mandate, will be swamped with job.

This reserve general of the U.S. Army will have the task of organizing everything that is happening in the region, including military and civilian matters. For that reason he has been given almost absolute authority.

It makes almost no sense to review everything that is referred to by the document adopted by the UN Security Council. The key question, however, on which the entire arrangement either fails or succeeds, is the demilitarization of the region, that is, the disarming of Serb paramilitary formations. In accordance with the General Framework Agreement, the demilitarization must be carried out within 30 days after the mandate is given. However, what does giving the mandate mean? The 30-day deadline will certainly not be counted from the date the resolution itself was adopted but rather from the moment when all the units in their full size (counting 5,000 troops) are deployed on the ground. Since Butrus Butrus Ghali has big problems with mobilizing soldiers for this UN operation, according to some assessments, it will take an additional two to three months until all the troops are deployed over the area, while what is most important is that it is questionable when the United Nations will reach the number of 5,000 because in eastern Slavonia, given the existing Belgium and Russian troops, the total number hardly exceeds 1,000. In diplomatic circles it is already being said that demilitarization will not start before the fall.

The resolution points out the significance of mutual recognition of all former Yugoslav states, which certainly is of political importance. Belgrade is still refusing to recognize Croatia, which some understand as the last card they have to play and the end of Milosevic's manipulations, while others see in that an announcement of new problems regarding eastern Slavonia. The gesture of goodwill made by the Croatian foreign minister, who went to Belgrade to discuss the issue, means a step away from the earlier Croatian attitude—first recognition, and then everything else.

The visit, which did not produce any firm date or agreement, has been assessed by everybody as surprisingly good, and diplomatic circles close to the Contact Group are already triumphant that the reintegration will go well because it is clear to Milosevic that there is no more room for maneuver left. If that is so, then how is one to explain the Serbian representatives' demand that the provision on acceptance of Croatian international borders be deleted from the resolution?

One should not forget about NATO's offer of close air support, which is also accepted in the document, to defend the United Nations troops or their withdrawal. Although it is not officially present in eastern Slavonia, with such engagement NATO is definitely a factor in the new project for eastern Slavonia. U.S. President Clinton said during his visit in Zagreb that in this region it was not only about the conflict between Croats and Serbs but also between those who wanted peace and those who wanted war, between those who had chosen the future and those who had chosen the past. Peace as an imperative of the U.S. peace initiative launched in Bosnia-Herzegovina is now assuming a global character in the regions (Jacques Klein in Croatia, NATO close air support, U.S. arbitration in Mostar, in addition to the already introduced peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina). However, when the time comes, it must be observed how the great architects of peace react if demilitarization fails to be implemented within a month.

Croatia: Slavonia Serbs Offer UNTAES Cooperation

AU1901175796 Vukovar Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday evening, Mr. Gerard Fisher, deputy to Ambassador Klein, head of the UN's provisional administration for the Srem-Baranja region, held talks in Erdut with Milan Milanovic, head of the negotiating team of the Srem-Baranja region, and Slavko Dokmanovic, president of the Council of the Srem-Baranja region.

After the talks, Mr. Fisher and Mr. Milanovic made the following statements:

[Begin Fisher recording in English with passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian] I think this was an important meeting, especially as we now have a mandate to implement. We discussed various processes that we want to launch in order to facilitate the implementation of all the principles contained in the basic agreement.

I think that talks that I have held with the representatives of the (?executive) council and Mr. Milanovic were very fruitful and frank. I think that these meetings were held with the right people. I firmly believe that we can make things happen if we cooperate in the period ahead. The task will difficult, but we will direct our efforts in the right direction, toward the right outcome.

This process will require everyone's involvement and participation. [end recording]

[Begin Milanovic recording] A lot of our work was based on (?assumptions) considering that we did not have a resolution. We now have a resolution, which is in the spirit of the agreement. We had a couple of objections to the draft resolution, such as [word indistinct]. Some objections have been accepted. Generally speaking, we take the view that the resolution is in the spirit of the agreement.

As I have already told Mr. Fisher this evening, our side is ready to implement the signed agreement. We are offering cooperation. I am using this opportunity to thank all members of the United Nations who have been in this region for their presence and cooperation. This refers to its military, political to the humanitarian sections.

Since they now have a new mandate, UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia], we are offering cooperation from our side. There will be many problems, but if we work rationally, I think that we will solve these problems through dialogue as we have done in the past.

I am glad that Ambassador Klein has been appointed as UN administrator. We are awaiting his arrival. As you can see, we have already started to work on the basis of the new resolution. [end recording]

Croatia: Serb Official Discusses UNSC Resolution

AU1901175096 Vukovar Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jan 96

[Interview with Slavko Dokmanovic, "president of the Council of the Srem-Baranja Region," by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Slavko Dokmanovic, president of the Council of the Srem-Baranja Region, assessed for Vukovar Television the UN Security Council [UNSC] resolution that was passed two days ago, on the beginning of the world organization's peace mission in the Srem-Baranja region called UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES].

[Dokmanovic] The very signing of the Basic Agreement on the end of war and establishment of peace in the Srem-Baranja region and the establishment of a UN Administration meant that the UNSC would pass a resolution that would define more precisely the work of the administration.

We waited for over two months for the resolution to be passed; it is in accordance with the signed agreement and it regulates certain relations that will be established between the transitional administration and local bodies of authority, that is, the region's council and the municipal assembly's executive council. The implementation of the resolution largely depends on the international community's ability to influence Croatia to implement the signed agreement. For our part, we have committed ourselves to observing all the provisions of the agreement we signed; we demand nothing more than is stated in the agreement, but we shall not agree to anything less than is stated in the agreement without our consent.

In any case, the process of establishing the administration started on the day the resolution was passed, and we are ready to cooperate; all our institutions, including the region's newly-formed executive council, are prepared for this.

[Correspondent] What about the guarantees? Are they adequate for the security of the people in Srem and Baranja?

[Dokmanovic] Demilitarization is one of the key points of the agreement, and generally a key point in the implementation. We have agreed to international forces deploying here. Some 5,000 troops and 440 police officers are expected here and they should guarantee our security. During the negotiations, and after the signing of the agreement, we said that, as far as we are concerned, we have no intention of attacking Croatia and we shall not incite a war; however, it depends on the UNSC and the international community to decide how many forces are needed to deter Croatia from attacking the area. Until we decide that the number of troops is enough and that the security of the region has been guaranteed, we shall keep our forces and they will guarantee the security of the population. Nothing will be left to chance. We told Mr. Klein in recent talks that, when he assesses that the security of region is satisfactory, that it guarantees law and order for the population, he will have to appear on Vukovar and Beli Manastir television and publicly tell the population that he is taking on the responsibility and guaranteeing security.

Of course, the number of troops is not decisive at the moment. What is decisive is the international community's influence and its readiness to make it clear to Croatia that it is obliged to observe the signed agreement. We have said earlier, and we stress once again, that the agreement is binding for both sides and that Croatia must observe points of the agreement. In the event that this is not so, we shall consider the agreement null and void because it clearly stipulates the obligations that Croatia must implement in the anticipated period.

[Correspondent] Mr. (?Fisher) said at the meeting that UNTAES would have branches in Vinkovci and Osijek. Does that mean that they will act separately, that is, that parts of the temporary administration will be stationed in these towns?

[Dokmanovic] The center of the transitional administration is in Vukovar. How many people will be stationed at different locations within the region, in the five municipalities, is unclear at the moment, but it is certain that they will have their offices in all municipalities, perhaps even in certain larger towns. Moreover, in order for implementation of the agreement to be possible, [words indistinct], it is probably necessary for the international community to have offices in Osijek and Vinkovci, which are border towns. They will be accountable to the transitional administration in Vukovar, and there is no controversy here; we are discussing several locations where the transitional administration will be stationed. It does not only comprise the administration; a great number of people [words indistinct] various professions, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, and others, interpreters, and so forth; some of these people will be stationed here. So the majority will be in Vukovar, but the center of the administration and the main administration will be permanently stationed in Vukovar. [sentence as heard]

Croatia: Public Gatherings Restricted in Zagreb

LD1901195596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During 1995 and at the beginning of this year trade union and other citizens' organizations have been informing the Zagreb police department about public gatherings to be held in places not designated for public gatherings. A statement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs stresses in relation to this:

We would like to remind all interested citizens and citizens' associations of Point 3, Article 3, of the Law on Public Gatherings, which says: Local government bodies can designate places where public gatherings are to take place.

According to the decision of the Zagreb city authorities, it has been decided that public gatherings in Zagreb can take place on Francuske Republike Square, in Maksimir Park, in Jarun by the sports stands, in the area in front of the Ambijent department store and on Sportova Square.

Public gatherings cannot take place outside the places specified by this decision. The Zagreb police department is obliged to refuse permission for a gathering on the basis of the above regulations. In the explanation of the decision, it is noted that permission will not be granted where public gatherings are planned for places other than those designated. This decision should be verbally conveyed to the representative of the public gathering's organizer and also delivered in writing. The representative must ask for permission and hold a public gathering at one of the designated places. Regulations of the Law on Public Gatherings oblige the organizers of public gatherings and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to guarantee, through mutual cooperation, public and legal order, and the peace and security of all citizens.

We would like to ask all citizens and citizens' associations to guarantee public and legal order by cooperating with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs' statement says.

Croatia: Economics Minister on Labor Costs, Taxes

AU0901143596 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 95 p 19

[Interview with Davor Stern, minister of economy of the Republic of Croatia, by Manuela Tasler; place and date not given: "Yes to Imports—But Together With Counter-Trade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the government of Mates [Croatian prime minister] has already been said to be "the government of continuity," Davor Stern, minister of economy, in his appearances in public and before businessmen, has in a short time managed to create the impression that a fresh new wind is blowing in the way of thinking. "Stern will probably embark on a new road in the work of the Croatian Government," that is what we heard from one distinguished businessman at the assembly of the HGK [expansion not known] last week.

However, in the period to come, Stern will also be one of those who have the sort of duty in which all the anomalies of Croatian society are reflected.

[Tasler] According to some estimates, 15 to 27 percent of all economic activities in the state occur without state control, i.e., illegally. The biggest part of that is related to trade, services, even to production, i.e. the activities covered by your ministry. Have you got any insight in the extent of this?

[Stern] I could not speak about percentage because I have not been informed about research done in that respect. However, it is a fact that the gray economy is present, not only in the field of economy but in all other fields as well. It is certain that the gray economy is fatal to the Croatian economy and that a way should be found to regulate it and bring it into the processes of normal economy.

[Tasler] How can that be done?

[Stern] First, through stimulation in the form of the deduction of tax duties. Not one forbidden activity of the gray economy, including illicit work, can be stopped by decrees. A flexible, transparent system must be created, which, through smaller commitments on economy, would bring about a situation in which all those who participate in an economic activity do so in an institutional way.

[Tasler] However, the present tax pressure is such that the tendencies are quite different, and there are more and more activities that take place outside the institutional framework. Do you, as minister of economy, have any influence on the minister of finance in this connection?

[Stern] I would not call it influence. I can talk to him about it, but he does not have much possibility to work on that issue. He does not have a lot of room to act because our state is expensive insofar as we are in an environment that demands a lot of expenditures, which we cannot survive without the sort of taxes that we now have.

[Tasler] How do you comment on the announced enlargement of the state budget for the coming year?

[Stern] I am somewhat skeptical about enlargement. Knowing the income items of the budget, I do not think that it will come to an increase. The debates that could be heard in the government up to now have made me hope that it will not come to an enlargement of the budget. There might be a redistribution among the ministries, but, in my opinion, there must not be an enlargement.

[Tasler] Yet there is talk about 34 billion kunas, which is three billion more than the rebalanced budget for this year.

[Stern] I do not know where those figures come from because it has still not been discussed in the government.

[Tasler] They were given by the deputy minister of finance at the session of the Committee for Finances and the State Budget of the House of Representatives of the assembly.

[Stern] That is maybe only an announcement because appetites were most probably much bigger. Look, that is entirely within the competence of the ministry of finance. If they can accept a proposed budget of 34 billion, and they are sure that receipts will cover it, then it is a question of their estimation whether that is possible or not.

[Tasler] What is your opinion?

[Stern] I will be the first to be against it, if it is planned to be achieved through an increase of taxes and other duties on the economy. That would be thoroughly counterproductive. Moreover, I believe that tax commitments should be reduced because more subjects would then pay. A concrete example of this are automobiles, about which everybody keeps asking me whether they will become cheaper, whether tax and customs duty on them will be reduced.

[Tasler] Will they? What are the proposed new customs rates?

[Stern] I have not looked at them very attentively, but I do not believe that there will be any significant changes, although we do not produce automobiles. However, the question of reducing taxes and customs on automobiles must be considered together with the abolition of all possible privileges on export because a large number of automobiles is imported on the basis of those privileges. I believe that it would be sensible to have customs and taxes on the European standard, which means around 22 percent altogether. Namely, I am an advocate of the idea that "five out of hundred" always gives more than "hundred out of five" [sentence as published].

[Tasler] However, the cost of labor, which is burdened by high income duties, is a bigger problem.

[Stern] We will have to be very careful about labor costs, and we will have to take care that they do not grow any more. We live in a utopia if we believe that we are a country with cheap labor. From talks with foreign investors interested in investing in our country it is obvious that our labor is not cheap. That becomes a particularly big problem since new markets for that capital have opened. Concretely, I have in mind Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, after sanctions against it have been lifted, where labor is considerably cheaper than in Croatia.

[Tasler] Then there are also other countries in eastern Europe. For example, our textile industry workers fear their jobs will be given to Ukraine, Lithuania....

[Stern] I am not an expert on textiles but I believe that the level of quality in those countries is still not as high as ours, so that, therefore, we can somehow manage. However, let us not forget that the textile industry of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was on the same level of development as ours, so I fear that our textile workers could experience an unpleasant surprise once that market is opened for these jobs. It is important to say that we have to compare ourselves with countries in our vicinity like Hungary and the Czech Republic. In comparison with them, the salaries of our workers are almost two times as high.

[Tasler] Fortunately, the number of foreign investors interested in Croatia is increasing. What are they offering, and what do they want?

[Stern] As soon as the Dayton agreements were initialed, that interest grew, and more and more delegations are arriving every day. I have just spoken to representatives of "Daimler-Benz" and "Samsung," and with the Dutch foreign trade minister.... In mid-January I will meet the German economics minister, and then the Swiss trade minister is coming.... Great interest in investments and in cooperation can be felt. However, investors want specific projects and we still have nothing to offer them. It is exceptionally important that all interested domestic businessmen become instantly involved in identifying projects for foreign investments.

[Tasler] Are there more such talks on the level of states, i.e. governments, or on the level of individual companies?

[Stern] Those are market economies in which the role of the state is not decisive. In any case, the state knows the way of promoting some things, and vice versa—if it does not want some things, it can use certain ways to block them. Until now regarding Croatia those blocks have been tight, and now they are getting looser, which can be seen out of the reactions of the companies.

[Tasler] In which direction does that interest mostly go?

[Stern] In the sense that they want to sell things to Croatia. However, what we have been pointing out to everybody is that through a system of countertrade we have to find means with which to pay for those goods or the equipment that comes to our market. I believe that we are thus on the way to stimulating exports from Croatia, which would cover the imports, so that a balance is achieved.

[Tasler] Is that 'connected business?'

[Stern] Well, it could be called that except that the term "connected business" sounds too socialist. I would rather call it cooperation within an input and output complex, which is recognized by the companies I have talked with, and there is no reason not to say it openly to them.

[Tasler] Bearing in mind that the danger of war is behind us, what is it that now appears to be the key problem in relation to foreign investors?

[Stern] The question of what it is we are offering. There is a possibility that they enter existing companies that are being privatized, which are mostly burdened with big debts. We have to clean those companies of their debts, and the Law on the Improvement of the Financial Situation of certain companies is not the best solution for something like that, so that we will probably pass some new decisions in that sense.

[Tasler] Will those provisions be more rigorous?

[Stern] No. Only more realistic. By cleaning companies of their debts, without a simultaneous restructuring and finding ways to create new working capital, we have not done anything. That is like washing a child, and then dropping it into the mud again. I believe that we have to change the regulations, because one can make a mistake, but it is important to know that and to admit that one has made a mistake, and to wish to correct that mistake.

[Tasler] Our problem is also in the fact that until now no big foreign bank has entered Croatia.

[Stern] Yes, but that could be expected. Namely, healthy capital requires a healthy environment, big capital looks for big opportunities, and until now Croatia could not offer those opportunities: And it will not be able to offer them in the future either, unless it accepts the conditions demanded by that capital, and one of them is the rapid passing of the law on free zones.

[Tasler] That proposal has many opponents, particularly those who identify free zones with smuggling.

[Stern] I have repeated this too often, and it has to be clear to everyone: Smugglers exist, and they will always exist. It is the police that has to deal with them, and those bodies that are responsible for that, but it cannot be a reason for us to close ourselves in the framework of hard laws, thereby cutting off the branch on which we sit. We have to set recognizable frameworks for operation, and those who violate them—they should bear the consequences.

[Box p 19] [Tasler] Have your attitudes concerning the solutions of key problems changed in the past year—since, as deputy minister of foreign affairs, you first became a minister without portfolio and then minister of the economy?

[Stern] The basic points have not changed. The way has maybe changed, because through that development I have got to know the methods the bureaucracy follows in solving certain questions. Earlier, as a businessman, I was much more pragmatic and faster in making decisions than I am now because now I have to keep in mind other segments as well. One needs to harmonize more than one does in the world of business. State bureaucracy has its methods. I cannot say that I have got to know them all, but I have got to know most of them. So, the starting points are the same, but the way to the goal is a little bit different.

FYROM: Albanian Party Thanks U.S. Mission Chief

LD2101174396 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—After a working visit to Tetovo by Victor Comras, head of the mission of the U.S. liaison office in Skopje, who held talks with leaders of the main Shiptar Party of Democratic Prosperity [PDP, Partija Demokratskog Prosperiteta], the true reasons for his visit are still an open question in the Macedonian public.

Judging by a statement that the PDP issued yesterday, Comras held talks on Friday [19 January] in Tetovo "at his own request" with the officials of that Shiptar party—leader Abdurahman Aliti and Bekir Zuta, minister for development in the government of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM].

The statement specified that they discussed the situation in the Balkans following the Dayton agreement, as well as the situation in Macedonia in light of the misunderstanding in the coalition government.

According to the same statement, Comras stressed that "the PDP needs to continue on its current political path, committed to equal status for the Albanians, which implies the Albanian language and education, for which it will receive the support of the American Government."

The statement stressed at the end that, in addition to presenting his party's stances on the situation in the region and in Macedonia, party leader Aliti thanked his guest and his country "for the understanding and support they give to the PDP and the Albanian people in Macedonia." [passage omitted]

Illegal, but unhindered by the authorities, courses at the Tetovo University are continuing. The ceremony marking the university's first anniversary was attended, among other officials, by Estref Aliju, minister for culture in Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's government, who is a representative of the leading Shiptar party—the PDP.

In addition to open support from official Tirana, support for the legalization of the ethnic university in Tetovo is coming in various forms from the United States as well. Local Shiptars have announced the withdrawal of their deputies from the parliament and their representatives from the executive authorities unless the problem of university education is solved by institutionalization of the university.

The FYROM constitution provides for the possibility of educating national minorities in their mother tongue up to the level of secondary school, which, therefore, does not include universities.

FYROM: Krstevski Appointed Army Chief of Staff

LD2201165196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Colonel General Trajce Krstevski has been appointed the new chief of staff of the Army of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]; his deputy is Lieutenant Col. Gen. Janakije Manasijevski, it was announced in Skopje today.

Both appointments have been made on the basis of a decree by state President Kiro Gligorov, following the retirement of Col. Gen. Dragoljub Bocinov, the former chief of staff.

Gen. Krstevski was born in Veles in 1938; he graduated from the military academy in Belgrade in 1961.

His first military placements in the former Yugoslav People's Army were in Sinj and Benkovac; in 1966, he was sent to the United Nations mission in Egypt. After serving in the Army commands in Stip, Skopje, and Bitola, he continued his military career in Rijeka.

Just before the breakup of former Yugoslavia, he was in Croatia. In 1991, he left the Yugoslav Army and moved to Macedonia where he placed himself at the disposal of the local armed forces, and took part in the setting up of first army formations.

Col. Gen. Krstevski was appointed Army deputy chief of staff of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in 1992.

FYROM: President Gligorov Addresses Businessmen

AU1901212696 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] "Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] needs a strong economy and an associated center for achieving progress," these were the words with which Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov addressed the country's businessmen at today's, as he said, "delayed post-New Year meeting" in the Assembly house, Ivan Mokrov reports. Expressing gratitude to the businessmen for their presence, President Gligorov said that a stable currency and controlled inflation are needed for a stable economy and added: "I would like to support and encourage you to greater and more efficient activity this year, so that your enterprises can become more lively, so that new people may be employed, so that our foreign trade exchange may be increased, and so that the government may adopt all the necessary laws for a full market economy. I believe that some important laws were adopted last year, but we have not accomplished everything, and it is not easy to create a legitimate basis that will include us among all those countries that have the conditions for initiative by the people, by businessmen, by every person who has some obligations and duties in any of your enterprises. It is the freedom of initiative, the freedom of economic production, the security that if you work well, you will have good results and that your results will be verified, appreciated, and so on. I expect you to do your best so that, by the end of the year, we can report, at least with modest figures, that the things have started to move, that we are no longer at the bottom, that production has increased, and that some young people have been given the chance to show what they can do. These matters are of the greatest value for every society. The easiest thing is to attack people who must daily take care of 2,000, 3,000, or even more workers, who must provide for their individual incomes and maintain their place on the market, in spite of all the disturbed conditions for work and life. Instead of criticizing these people, they should be shown appreciation for having survived under these difficult circumstances and for having demonstrated that Macedonia can survive economically, that it is able to protect its own borders, and that it is also capable of maintaining its independence as a nation with its own language, history, culture, and so on."

Poland: Lobov Statement on Chechen Links 'Intolerable'

LD1901185096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1732 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—The Polish Foreign Ministry [MSZ] has assessed today's statement by Oleg Lobov, the secretary of the Russian Security Council and the Russian president's plenipotentiary in Chechnya, that "forces from abroad," including Poland, are influencing the development of the situation in Chechnya, as "intolerable" and damaging to Polish-Russian relations.

In the opinion of MSZ spokesman Pawel Dobrowolski, the nervousness of the statements by Russian officials at various levels is clearly felt. These statements, in "revelationary" tone, do not add anything new and are totally unfounded. Dobrowolski recalled the recent statement by Polish Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati, who criticized and called inappropriate statements by Russian Federation officials on the subject of the alleged accusations about Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

The statement about forces from abroad, which has implications for the actions of President Yeltsin's opponents in Chechnya, is totally intolerable, the spokesman said. Linking the issues of the so-called Chechen center in Krakow and terrorism in Chechnya is convenient and very spectacular, but these are completely different matters; the fact that it sounds "logical" is Lobov's affair—in any case, he presented no evidence, Dobrowolski said. He added that such statements unnecessarily aggravated the serious and businesslike talks between the Polish and Russian sides on completely different subjects.

Poland: CIA Involvement in Oleksy Case Alleged

WS2201130996 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20-21 Jan 96 p 4

[Article by Edyta Zlotkowska: "UPR on 'Oleksy Case'; CIA Vengeance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Poland is an area where intelligence services are playing games with one another. This is sending shock waves throughout the population," believes Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of the Union for Real Politics [UPR]. It follows from the information he presented that the "Oleksy case" is an act of retaliation on the part of U.S. intelligence.*

This is because the Americans invested huge amounts of money in the victory of one camp, the camp that has now been defeated. Therefore, they took advantage of the information gathered by the CIA that might be used against the other camp. Nonetheless, Janusz Korwin-Mikke did not rule out that the materials used against Prime Minister Oleksy might just as well have been fabricated.

Stanislaw Michalkiewicz, the party's deputy chairman, added that the victory of Aleksander Kwasniewski in the presidential elections resulted in the collapse of the roundtable configuration, and Lech Walesa's proposal to resume this initiative confirms UPR's theses. According to UPR, such an initiative would be detrimental to the state and would prove mafia links among those involved in the initiative.

The UPR chairman did not rule out that President Lech Walesa had blackmailed Aleksander Kwasniewski by threatening to make public some materials in order to force him to withdraw from the presidential race. Janusz Korwin-Mikke suspects that the person who masterminded the entire operation was not the former president himself but, rather, Minister of State Mieczyslaw Wachowski. The UPR chairman presented another proof or at least a fact confirming that the "Oleksy case" is related to operations of U.S. intelligence in Poland: the fact that CIA agent Zbigniew Brzezinski was awarded the White Eagle Medal, which occurred almost at the same time that [former] Minister Milczanowski leveled charges at Prime Minister Oleksy.

Janusz Korwin-Mikke claimed that his statement was based on "well-informed sources from circles close to the CIA." He also said that only if the entire case is clarified can Poland regain its credibility in the international arena.

Poland: Committee on Oleksy Case, Arms Industry

WS1901135396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Jan 96 p 3

[Article by "Z.L.": "KSORM Session; Safeguarding Secrets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The intensifying news reports on the Oleksy case—in its current stage—are detrimental to Poland's position in the international arena and destabilize the domestic situation, thus posing a threat to state security. That is the conclusion the Defense Committee of the Council of Ministers [KSORM] reached yesterday.*

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak, the KSORM chairman, announced that the committee instructed all offices and institutions to strictly observe required procedures, especially those that protect secret and classified information. "We also are appealing to politicians, particularly members of the special commissions, not to disclose secrets they are obliged to keep when expressing their opinions," said the KSORM head.

Apart from an updated assessment of threats to state security (the crime rate has recently risen), [as published] the session was devoted to the restructuring of the arms and aviation industries by the year 2010. KSORM approved the so-called compromise reform scenario, as a result of which the transformation processes will probably take longer, the technological modernization of the Armed Forces will slow down, and spending on defense will be less effective. Roman Czerwinski, deputy minister of industry and trade, said that, if we decided to purchase arms exclusively abroad, the budget deficit would soar to 40 million zlotys and 35,000 people currently employed in the arms industry would lose their jobs. KSORM has thus recommended that the government implement a program that provides that 70 percent of purchases for the needs of the Army be carried out domestically. Domestic products must meet the requirement of effective production. The military claims that 31 arms companies are capable of producing equipment and materials for the Army. They might form a specialized holding company in the future. After a series of measures the Ministry of Industry described as effective, the condition of many key arms producers improved. Over the next few years, the government not only will support strategic programs involving many producers, but also encourage cooperation and switching to "civilian" production. It was decided that production capacity will be systematically developed, new technologies will be introduced, and more effective methods of promoting exports will be applied.

Poland: ZChN Wants Prosecutor Off Oleksy Case

WS1901143896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by "PIW": "Christian-National Union on the Supreme Military Prosecutor; Michalowski Must Move Aside"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Supreme Military Prosecutor General Ryszard Michalowski was head of the Military Garrison Court in Rzeszow during martial law. He headed trials against activists of the underground Solidarity, even though he did not have to," said Ryszard Czarnecki, chairman of the Christian-National Union [ZChN], in Lodz yesterday. Czarnecki claims that the prosecutor's political past may have a huge influence on the work of the prosecutor's office. "It would be better if General Czarnecki backed out of the [Oleksy] case altogether," he added. Czarnecki maintains that the fact that Gen. Michalowski is subordinated to the prosecutor general and Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia—in light of the latter's subservience—obviously makes it difficult to settle the case objectively.

Poland: Former Minister on Proposal To Open Files

LD1901155896 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Andrzej Milczanowski, former minister of internal affairs, said that possibly revealing the names of foreign agents who had worked on the Oleksy case was bordering on the absurd and threatened their lives.

Andrzej Milczanowski added that the current law does not allow personal data on people, even those who work in Poland, to be revealed. This would be an event on a global scale, Milczanowski said.

[Andrzej Milczanowski] My first impression is that President Aleksander Kwasniewski is trying to neutralize the clamour around Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy and occupy the minds of people with a new issue. This is how I would describe it.

Poland: Commission Member Fears Publicizing Findings

LD2101230496 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bogdan Borusewicz, a member of the Extraordinary Sejm Commission to investigate the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs involving the Oleksy case, has warned that making its work public could result in the killing of witnesses. According to Borusewicz, among the people who have been making such proposals in public there were some who knew what was involved. In his opinion, the revealing of the commission's work would mean the destruction of our intelligence and counterintelligence services.

Poland: Deputy Sejm Speaker on Access to MSW Files

LD2201104096 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The deputy Sejm speaker, Aleksander Malachowski, thinks every citizen should have access to his files in the Interior Ministry [MSW] archives. Malachowski is to head the commission that is to deal with the opening of the MSW and State Protection Office [UOP] archives. In an interview for Polish Radio, the deputy Sejm speaker said that the commission would not concern itself with the Jozef Oleksy case because it will not start work for several more months, by which time accusations against the prime minister should be cleared up.

Malachowski expressed the opinion that vetting is necessary, particularly as regards checking on candidates for public posts. He added that only a team of experienced lawyers will have access to their files; on the basis of the documents, they will be able to issue a declaration whether a given person collaborated with the security service or a foreign intelligence service.

Poland: Deputy Speaker Ready To Head Vetting Body

LD1901174596 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Deputy Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski has made known that he is inclined to accept the proposal by President Aleksander Kwasniewski and head an office that would concern itself with the revealing of secret Interior Ministry [MSW] documents.

[Unidentified correspondent] Aleksander Malachowski reported that, during the night, the president had proposed to him the post of head of an office that would occupy itself with broadly conceived vetting. Malachowski said he would accept the proposal, but on several conditions.

[Begin Aleksander Malachowski recording] This requires several important things. It requires great material independence; it cannot be like the National Radio and TV Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV], which for the first year of its existence was looking for chairs and a few pence to pay secretaries. It cannot be an office consigned to dependence on the former security apparatus. It must be a totally independent office. I have told colleagues here that I see its tasks as threefold—maybe how I see it will expand with time, but this is the first idea after last night, when the president woke me up at midnight. I thought it was a joke when I heard the president's voice. It turned out to be true. So this is what I thought, because I could not get to sleep again afterwards: that this should be the vetting of people who are standing for some public post; that there should be the ability for people unjustly libeled to clear themselves, people who are groundlessly accused; and that it should be, finally, a chance also for those people who did indeed betray their circle, who informed, but who were forced to do so by dirty methods. [end recording]

In Deputy Speaker Malachowski's opinion, the old apparatus exists in the MSW and the State Protection Office [UOP] and is keeping watch over the documents. So it is not known whether there is the chance or the means to make the commission a truly independent institution. [passage omitted]

Poland: WPROST Material on Oleksy Said To Be Old

LD1901161996 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Radio RMF FM [private nationwide radio] Moscow and until yesterday WPROST weekly correspondent Waldemar Gontarski claim that the documents published in the latest issue of WPROST concerning the so-called Oleksy case were already known.

Gontarski accused the Polish special services of treating the documents already known to the public as operational materials.

Archive documents published in WPROST—that is, a note by Gennadiy Yanayev and a note by Leonid Shebarshin, former KGB deputy chairman—had already been published in the Russian press in November 1991, Gontarski said.

Gontarski expressed his surprise and regret at the fact that the Polish special services treated these documents as operational material. Now they want to arrest my colleagues for revealing something that had been known to the Russian public for a long time. I do not know whether these documents are genuine, but I stress the fact that I read it all before in the ROSSIYA weekly.

Poland: Prime Minister Comments on Allegations

LD1901162396 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1500 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has come out in favor of the publication of a white book containing all the material concerning the accusations against the head of government. The prime minister suggested that the attacks on him were the result of coooperation between Polish and Russian intelligence.

[Oleksy] This very odd alliance of the Polish and Russian intelligence services, which was once nothing to be proud of, looks too unsavory to me here.

[Announcer] Oleksy has contacted television in order to make possible a public discussion between the prime minister and invited journalists on the charges made against him.

[Oleksy] I intend in the next few days to invite all of the journalists who have involved themselves most keenly in attacking my person on the basis of various sources of information, and to stand before them for a sparring match, so we can talk publicly, under society's gaze, because society has the right to be exactly and extensively informed about what is important.

[Announcer] The prime minister added that he could not yet fix the date for such a meeting because he did not want to be suspected of trying to put pressure on the military prosecutor's office and the extraordinary Sejm commission dealing with his affairs. Oleksy intends to run for the post of chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, which Kwasniewski has vacated.

Poland: Students Demonstrate in Sejm Against Oleksy

LD1901210996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1810 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—The group of nine people who interrupted the deliberations of the National Assembly on 19 January was let into the Sejm on the basis of the law that assures citizens the opportunity to listen to meetings of the National Assembly, according to a communique the Information Office of the Sejm Chancellery sent to PAP today.

The office explains that the regulations of the National Assembly regarding the adoption of the constitution of the Polish Republic determine that deliberations are open and that this openness is, among other things, assured by facilitating public observation of the proceedings from the gallery of the chamber.

The people who entered the terrain of the Sejm presented a list with their names and stated that they were members of a discussion club at Warsaw University, according to the Chancellery of the Sejm.

The incident, which disturbed the proceedings of the National Assembly for a few minutes, took place in the afternoon. A group of young people, presenting themselves as activists of the Republican League, scattered leaflets from the gallery demanding, among other things, the immediate dismissal of Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy in association with the alleged suspicions of his collaboration with the KGB.

Poland: UW Demands Oleksy's Resignation

LD2101153296 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1407 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 21 Jan—The National Council of the Union of Freedom [UW] passed a resolution today, with only two abstentions, demanding the immediate resignation of Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy and calling on the Polish Peasant Party and the opposition both in and outside parliament to set up a Government of Rebuilding the Credibility of the State [Rzad Odbudowy Wiarygodnosci Panstwa]. [passage omitted]

Poland: Soviet Diplomat: Walesa Had KGB Contacts

LD1901204696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksandr (Oshkin), first secretary at the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw during the 1980's, says that beginning in 1986 Walesa aides maintained secret contacts with Soviet Embassy representatives, who included KGB agents. Lech Walesa himself allegedly met Vladimir Brovikov, the Soviet ambassador to Poland, before the Round Table talks in 1989.

[Moscow correspondent Wiktor Bater] In a special article in the newspaper RABOCHAYA ROSSIYA, Oshkin reports that, from 1986, Lech Walesa's closest aides had systematic contacts with Soviet Embassy representatives. These meetings, in Oshkin's opinion, took place with Lech Walesa's knowledge and agreement. Oshkin says Solidarity tried to convey suggestions to Moscow behind the back of the then Polish People's Republic authorities that the opposition's takeover of power would be no threat to Russia. It does not emerge from the article that Walesa's people were Russian agents. The contacts were systematic, as Oshkin himself admits, but the Russians did not recruit agents in Poland. We only needed information from the then hostile camp, Oshkin maintains, and Solidarity gave us such information, at the same time using the contacts with the Soviet Embassy for their own purposes.

Oshkin admits that, in the period preceding the Round Table in Poland, Walesa personally met the then Soviet Ambassador Brovikov. He never published any communiques from those meetings, but Oshkin is sure there are records of the conversations in Moscow. Wiktor Bater, Polish Radio, Moscow.

Lech Walesa has described this information as a provocation. In a statement for Polish Radio Gdansk, Walesa said that the whole affair was aimed at eclipsing the affair of Prime Minister Oleksy.

[Begin Walesa recording] All my documentation, my every movement, my every meeting, my every trip, my every conversation are documented by the Security Service. The documents were burned, but I succeeded in buying them, and I have my every second thoroughly described, everybody who ever had a meeting with me. I can prove every second, not me, but the agents who surrounded me. [passage indistinct] It is all segregated year by year and day by day. Let him give any date and we will go straight away and see what our Security Service writes on the subject.

I never helped; I did not know the KGB or any person at all. This is a provocation that I will refute with a laugh because somebody wants to obscure the affair of Oleksy and others, so he thinks up stupid things. [end recording]

Poland: Sejm Speaker Addresses Nation on Crisis

LD1901211296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 19 Jan 96

[Address to the nation by Polish Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ladies and gentlemen. The moment is a peculiar one. In the feeling of most of our society, the disputes at the summits of power have reached their culminating point. It is no longer possible to tone down mutual accusations. Fortunately, the clarification of the case is taking place before the constitutional bodies of the state created for this purpose. I wish to declare that the Sejm of the Polish Republic has from the start, when it took up the case, stood by the principle of defending the principle of adherence to the laws and also of the determination of the objective truth. It is also seeking for political disputes not to exceed certain limits. And this limit is the interest of the state.

Addressing you in December of last year, I gave assurances that we will clarify all of the circumstances behind the creation of the present situation, that we will obtain clear replies to whether all state bodies acted within the limits of the law. The Special Commission that was created by the Sejm of the Republic on 22 December of last year for the clarification of the accusations that have been made is working exceptionally intensively. It has already interviewed many witnesses. It has familiarized itself with the extensive evidence, this including that which is secret and secret-for-restricted-purposes [tajne, specjalnego znaczenia], access to which I sought from the minister of internal affairs. It is stubbornly seeking to truly determine the role of all of the state bodies and institutions in this difficult and complicated case. Because the work of the commission will soon enter its final period, I have made the decision to call off my earlier planned foreign visits, acknowledging the work of the commission as having, in the present situation, absolute priority.

In accordance with the Sejm resolution, by 31 January of this year the commission is to present an initial report about its work. Its activity will, however, continue until we discover all of the circumstances of the case and until we clarify all of its aspects. Polish society has the right to know and will get to know how the special services function and have functioned, what has to be changed in the field of their functioning, how to secure the interests and security of the state. I judge that the findings in this respect and, if such a need then arises, the consequent legal regulations, might become a historic breakthrough for our country.

The constitutionally entitled state bodies—in this case the Military Prosecutor's Office—will determine whether a betrayal of the state and activity to the detriment of the interests of the state took place, and by whom.

The principle of adherence to the laws requires that the Extraordinary Sejm Commission and also the Prosecutor's Office be assured the conditions for conscientious work. Such conditions have, on the part of the Sejm, been fully secured.

Ladies and gentlemen, because the activity of the commission is nonetheless accompanied by enormous social interest, we are considering the possibility of more widely reporting on its work. This is, however, only possible to such an extent as will not transgress the interests of our state and will not signify the revelation of its secrets. I stress that the results of the work of the commission and the findings made by it will be completely open and will be made public. The openness of political life cannot be just a convenient slogan for circumstances of crisis, but a lasting principle in a law-adhering state.

International society expects from Poland that we will resolve difficult and painful cases in accordance with international standards, and thus with the assistance of the constitutional state bodies and in accordance with legal procedures. The credibility of Poland in the world will depend upon the maintenance of these norms.

The Sejm of the Polish Republic is that body that guarantees the law-abiding clarification and resolution of the problems that have arisen. I wish to give assurances that even though the clarification of this very complicated case is difficult and painstaking, it is nonetheless taking place without hindrances on the part of anyone and in accordance with the procedures of a democratic state. Personally, like the whole of our Sejm, I have full trust in the commission.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us remember that, apart from activities intended to clarify the present political crisis, parliament is also continuing other, important work. In the view of the Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly, citizens ought to decide in a referendum about whether to have a unicameral or a bicameral parliament, on the creation or not of local government districts [powiaty] and voivodships, about the procedure for the election of a president of the Polish Republic—in general elections or by parliament itself—about state-church relations.

The Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly has put forward a resolution for the linking of the presidential and Sejm referenda already decreed for 18 February and also that they be held at a later date together with the planned referendum of the National Assembly.

Acknowledging the substantive reasoning of the commission and especially taking into account the procedural problems and the costs—one referendum means the spending of approximately 400 billion old zlotys—I have, in accordance with the resolution of the Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly, applied to the president of the Polish Republic for the linking of the three referenda and the deferral of their date.

At the resolution of many organizations, I recently held a series of consultations on this matter, among others with the Council of Elders of the National Assembly, with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, and with other political forces in our country. Taking into account all of the circumstances, I have acknowledged as no longer relevant the application for the linking of the ownership enfranchisement referendum and the preconstitutional referendum and also for them to be held on the same date. A referendum cannot change into a conflict between citizens and the state. It must be a constructive input by citizens into our joint development. No partial reasoning can be allowed to demolish statewide rationales. The only rationale must be, solely, the good of the nation and its will. I have also taken into account the deliberations of the National Assembly that have ended. For that reason and also on account of the already undertaken procedural measures associated with the ownership enfranchisement referendum, which have begun, I feel that these referenda must take place in accordance with the planned timetable and thus on 18 February 1996.

Thank you for your attention.

Poland: Olesky on Possible Government Reshuffle

LD1901162796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said that he did not see the need for a government reshuffle. At a press conference in Warsaw of the authorities of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], Oleksy spoke in favor of revealing all of the documents and materials that are connected with the charges laid against him. They would be published in a so-called white book.

According to the SDRP leadership, the present political crisis can be resolved by the SLD-PSL [Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party] coalition and the present parliament.

Leaders of the SDRP described the calls for a government reshuffle as premature. In their opinion, it is necessary to wait for decisions by the Prosecutor's Office and the outcome of the investigations carried out by the Sejm Extraordinary Commission. Oleksy admitted, however, that, if the present crisis could not be resolved, early parliamentary elections would be desirable.

Poland: PSL Declaration Favoring Government Reshuffle

LD1901212996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1919 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] handed over during the coalition meeting in Warsaw today a declaration by the leading official bodies of the PSL, which was agreed yesterday. Here is the text of the declaration:

"The PSL takes the position of defense of the country's interests and of the stability of the political situation. No ad hoc circumstances can achieve a greater importance in the action of a political party than concern for the supreme interest of the country and the maintenance of the constitutional order of the state. The PSL thinks that the present political crisis is a threat to the democratic order and to Poland's interests in the international arena; in view of this, the PSL comes out in favor of a government reshuffle with the maintenance of constitutional principles."

Poland: PSL Submits Candidate for Prime Minister

LD2101211696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Waldemar Pawlak has confirmed that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has suggested to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] that a government reshuffle and a change in the prime minister's post should take place. Peasant movement activists have proposed Miroslaw Pietrewicz, the head of the Central Planning Office [CUP], for the post of prime minister.

The PSL chairman said that his party's proposal was aimed at separating the current government work from the issue of clarification of the accusations against Prime Minister Oleksy, which is a job for the law enforcement bodies.

Pawlak explained that, in the opinion of the Peasant Party activists, a solution should be sought within the current coalition. However, if this fails, a new setup should be sought that would be understandable to the people and that would allow issues important to society to be resolved in an effective manner.

The 19 January talks about the situation in the country and the fate of the SLD-PSL coalition will continue this week.

Poland: SLD Leader Denies PSL Proposed Reshuffle

LD2201100096 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jerzy Szmajdzinski, the chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary floor group, says the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] did not propose a government reshuffle during the coalition's meeting on Friday.

In an interview for Polish Radio, he did not confirm the information by PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak, who said on television that, during the meeting, his group had proposed a Cabinet reshuffle and a change of prime minister. The PSL recommended Miroslaw Pietrewicz, the current head of the Central Planning Office [CUP], for the post.

In Jerzy Szmajdzinski's opinion, during the talks the PSL authorities agreed with the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] position that talks on a government reshuffle and the appointment of a new prime minister were premature. According to Szmajdzinski, no name was mentioned.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski did not rule out talks on appointing a head of government from the Peasant Party, if, as he said, such a situation were to arise.

Poland: No Decision by Parties on Future of Coalition

LD1901211696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1908 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Democratic Left Alliance representatives have not made a decision on the future of the coalition. At a meeting lasting just under three hours, the only decision was that talks would be continued next week.

After the meeting ended, PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak told journalists that his party maintained its position and was still demanding changes in the government.

The secretary general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, said however that no decisions should be expected in the immediate future.

Poland: SdRP Issues Statement on Coalition

WS2201131196 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20-21 Jan 96 p 2

["Statement by Social Democracy of the Polish Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. The coalition of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] is trying to serve Poland well. The Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] definitely wants all of the reasons for and circumstances of the current political crisis to be clarified. Initiatives aimed at reshuffling the coalition government are premature.

2. We deem it indispensable to publish a white book, which would include all the materials and shorthand notes related to the motion submitted by Andrzej Milczanowski. Only a white book can present a true picture of the entire case.

3. We consider it proper to create legal procedures that would allow access to files kept in the archives of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Office of State Protection. This can be prevented by the use of blackmail and by exertion of pressure on public opinion, as well as by the special services' playing an independent political role.

4. The current political crisis might be resolved by the SLD-PSL coalition in the present parliament. However, if lack of agreement and restraint as well as growing aggression and hysteria prevented this possibility, it would be a fair solution if the parliamentary parties agreed to early parliamentary elections.

[Signed] Izabella Sierakowska, Leszek Miller, Jozef Oleksy, Jerzy Szmajdzinski

Poland: Freedom Union Resolution on Oleksy Resignation

WS2201124096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Jan 96 p 3

[Resolution of the National Council of the Freedom Union on the Current Situation in Poland]

[FBIS Translated Text] A grave state crisis continues. The reason is the inability of Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy and the Democratic Left Alliance to respond to the situation that has evolved.

The justice administration shall either pass an indictment or an acquittal. The longstanding friendship between the prime minister and a foreign intelligence officer, coupled with the inability to guarantee an unbiased investigation of the affair and protect the state, have political consequences. The interests of Poland require that Jozef Oleksy resign as prime minister.

The dramatic situation of the state requires extraordinary measures. A sense of responsibility for the state forces us to demand that Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy immediately resign. We are appealing to the Polish Peasant Party and the parliamentary and extraparliamentary opposition to create a Government for Restructuring the Credibility of the State.

Such an undertaking is consistent with the Polish raison d'etat.

Poland: PPS Head Wants Security Service Depoliticized

LD2001212296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] Supreme Council, Piotr Ikonowicz, has come out in favor of declassifying the Interior Ministry files. In his opinion, the fact that the political police [security service] is holding politicians to ransom and blackmailing political parties, the parliament, and the government is unacceptable.

Piotr Ikonowicz said in Lodz today that the political police had not been put under any democratic control and depoliticized. In his opinion, despite the fact that it [security service] had turned from a communist into a right-wing pro-Walesa service, it had not ceased its participation in politics.

Deputy Ikonowicz announced that the two factions of the party, the one represented by Ikonowicz and the one led by Senator Jan Mulak, were going to unite at the forthcoming PPS congress in a month's time.

Poland: Korwin-Mikke Retains UPR Chairmanship

LD2101224396 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Janusz Korwin-Mikke has managed to retain the chairmanship of the Union of Real Politics [UPR]. A UPR convention has approved the accounts of UPR's leadership. Before the convention, Korwin-Mikke said that unless he received the support of the delegates he would resign as leader of the party.

Mariusz Dzierzawski, the leader of the Party of Real Politics, who with his supporters attempted to take over the leadership of the union one month ago, did not attend the UPR convention.

Poland: Walesa Interested in Heading Integrated Europe

WS1901145696 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jan 96 p 3

[Report by "MPO": "If Europe Integrates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "If Europe integrates, perhaps I might become the chairman or president of the United States of Europe. That is something I have not had yet," said Lech Walesa in an interview on Polsat [commercial television network]. He stated he is not interested in becoming the president of Poland or the chairman of Solidarity.

Poland: Church 'Open' to Talks on Concordat

LD2201114696 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1040 GMT 22 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 22 Jan—Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary general of the Polish Episcopate, commenting today on Sunday's statement for PAP by President Aleksandr Kwasniewski, according to which the finalization of the Concordat is feasible in the immediate future, said: "I have been saying for some time now that the church is open to talks but had for its part exhausted all possibilities." [passage omitted]

In the opinion of the episcopate secretary general, if one is speaking about talks, some kind of concrete proposal must come from the government side. "I do not know to whom these words are addressed—to the Holy See or to the episcopate," Bishop Pieronek said. [passage omitted]

Asked to take a position on the statement by Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati, who said in his interview for Radio Zet today that he favors rapid ratification of the Concordat, at the same time expressing the hope that President Kwasniewski "will lance this boil, the Concordat, which is weighing on Poland's relations with the Vatican," Bishop Pieronek said that "if such talks are conducted and strive to lance this boil, one should only be glad about it and be sad that the boil occurred at all."

Poland: Government Accused of Impeding Reform

96EP0012B Poznan WPROST in Polish 26 Nov 95 No 48, p 8

[Article by Jozef Lassota, mayor of Krakow and chairman of the Convention of Mayors of the Largest Polish Cities, published under the rubric "Weather Forecast": "The Black Procession"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government of Prime Minister Oleksy has played a trick on municipal authorities nationwide: It has broadened our powers but has demanded a high price in return. Many cities will have tremendous problems in paying the thus presented bill, with the weaker ones reaching the verge of bankruptcy. But we shall pay, as otherwise a rapid decentralization of our government will not be possible.

Problems with funds available for municipal operations in Poland had arisen already during the so-called pilot program. In 1993 the government proposed to municipal councils in larger cities (having populations of more than 100,000) that they take over some duties that previously had been handled by the central government. This experiment was called the pilot program. The intent was to verify whether municipalities could cope with new and more difficult duties. Unfortunately, as soon as he assumed office, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak forbade province governors to sign the related agreements. His government tried to prevent the pilot program from taking effect at all. We succeeded in getting the government to allow implementation of that program within at least a modest scope, and last year we pursued this matter with huge difficulty. The government disregarded even monitoring that program and showed no desire to cooperate, so ultimately we saw that the agreements were unilaterally broken. Still, this year many municipalities accomplished pilot-program objectives, even though they had to contribute more than 1.5 trillion old zlotys to the program.

The government of Prime Minister Oleksy took up old plans. It resurrected the old draft of a municipal law which stated that the functions which the municipalities had performed voluntarily under the pilot program would now be mandatory. This still leaves the funding problem: We estimate that the municipalities will now have to contribute from their own funds 10-15 percent of the cost of health service, education, and culture. The government firmly refused to grant, e.g., funds for road maintenance, even though it is precisely its obligation to maintain principal city thoroughfares. Our municipalities will have to take over many administrative duties relating to the laws on road traffic, transportation, and construction supervision, but we were granted only one-third of the funds needed for that purpose. No allowance was made, e.g., for the cost of building maintenance.

Paradoxically, under that law the municipalities are to obtain funds in a tortuous and opaque manner. For example, a share of the personal income tax will be given to us. That tax is collected by the central government, whereupon the finance minister transfers part of it to the municipalities. It is my hope that this procedure will be only temporary. The best solution would be to share proceeds from the value-added tax with the municipalities. These proceeds reflect the proactivism of a municipality; the better it performs, the greater its share in them should be. Unfortunately, for the time being the finance minister is blocking this solution.

In most democratic countries it is precisely the municipalities that collect the tax and transfer its due share to the state. In this country the opposite is true. Unless this changes in the near future, there will be no decentralization of power. These days it is precisely the finance minister who has become the biggest obstacle to reforming the government. While local governments may cope with insufficient funds, this will have its price: We shall not allocate an adequate amount of money for, e.g., welfare and housing construction. These are the expenses we will have to bear. Otherwise, the reform will again be postponed and present-day problems will not be solved.

Poland: Defense Industry, Arms Production Improving

96EP0009A Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish 19 Nov 95 No 47, pp 16-17

[Article by Marek Morawiec: "Polish Arsenal Gets Closer to NATO's"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Polish armaments plants are beginning to manufacture world-class equipment. They are also establishing cooperation with foreign partners, expecting chiefly to bid for domestic Defense Ministry (MON, Ministry of National Defense) orders. They are best positioned in armored equipment and worst positioned in aviation. Our market is beginning to be penetrated by foreign arms concerns, which also count on government orders. The picture is marred by the continuing financial problems at the Defense Ministry.

The fatal financial situation of the arms industry was a political negotiating card in the years 1991-94. Nearly 50 state arms plants, many with more than 5,000 employees (with more than 10,000 at Mielec) had strong trade unions. Both NSZZ Solidarity and OPZZ (All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement) made similar demands, and in many cases acted jointly. In their talks with the successive governments the trade unions demanded debt relief for the industry and its secure financing by requiring the defense industry to purchase Polish-made equipment. Attempts also were made to consolidate the industry. The Polish defense industry lobby and the trade unions developed a project for establishing a state holding company for the defense industry, as divided into associations of companies corresponding to production sectors.

Aside from debt relief and some restructuring, the only real effect of the negotiations between the Solidarity governments and representatives of industry was the pledge to abandon privatization and abstain from selling arms plants to Western investors. The notion of the holding company was again considered during the Pawlak government; one of its supporters is current Minister of Industry Klemens Scierski. After considering two conceptual studies (the concept of the Polska Bron SA Holding Company and that of four holding companies associating the companies in four sectors of the defense industry), the latter concept was chosen for state plants transformed into one-person Treasury companies and grouped into four sectors:

1. missiles, explosives, ammunition, and classic equipment (grouping together 14 plants with 32,000 employees);

2. aviation (five plants with 24,000 employees);

3. radar and electronic equipment, also five plants, with 10,000 employees); and

4. armored equipment, with 24,000 employees at five enterprises.

However, this concept remained on paper and the plants undertook to improve the situation on their own.

The Game for Equipment

The goal of Polish foreign policy remains joining the European structures and NATO. In the latter case the threshold is high; in addition to meeting the political requirements, military equipment must be updated to meet NATO standards. According to these standards, at least 25 percent of the equipment of the Polish military must be modern. This is not much considering that in NATO countries it is 30-35 percent and in the United States even 40 percent.

That equipment must be compatible with NATO equipment. This applies less to firearms and more to communications and electronic equipment. Military electronics are the most expensive part of the equipment and the most difficult to update. The cost of modernizing the Polish military was estimated at about 20 billion new zlotys by the London-based Institute for Strategic Studies. That amount applies to equipment alone, exclusive of servicing and infrastructure; if these are included it would presumably be higher by a factor of 3 to 3.5.

Modernization began last year. For the time being it has been reduced to defining, by the General Staff, the requirements to be met by equipment for the Polish Army. The military have pragmatically adopted the path of domestic bidding, with which they are in no hurry, the reason being the shortage of funds. The Ministry of National Defense is demanding that three percent of the GDP annually be allocated for the military, of which 70 percent is to finance equipment modernization. Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko considers this unacceptable. In 1994, 2.2 percent of the GDP was allocated for the military, and it does not look like this proportion will change significantly this year. In absolute figures the funds allocated for the military between 1986 and 1993 dropped from 86.7 trillion old zlotys to 33 trillion. In 1994 it was 47 trillion which, in view of inflation, was not a significant increase.

New Projects

Despite the unclear situation, the arms industry plants were able to present to the Defense Ministry new armament designs, which in most cases do not deviate from European standards, and in some cases equal world-class standards. In this connection, nearly every such plant is trying to find a Western partner. This applies chiefly to electronics equipment and artillery systems, which in our case are not in accord with NATO standards.

The Bumar-Labedy Conglomerate, which has designed the new PT-91 Hard Tank, is currently attempting to have the military adopt the new BWP-2000 [Infantry Combat Vehicle] armored transporter, designed jointly with the Gliwice Mechanical Equipment Research and Development Center (OBRUM) and the Italian Otobreda concern. Mounted on a tall caterpillar chassis of a novel design is an Italian-made removable turret with 25-60 mm cannon and two TOW [tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided] armor-piercing missile launchers. The BWP-2000 replaces the heretofore used transporters made on the basis of a Soviet license, and it can also be equipped with a 105-mm automatic cannon, which then makes it a support vehicle on the battlefield.

"The Italians attach great importance to collaboration with us. We received virtually on credit the turrets for the first specimens of the BWP-2000," said Janusz Wojcik, OBRUM deputy director. "The BWP-2000 is the first stage of our cooperation. We intend to conclude a strategic alliance with Bumar," said Gerardo Etman, deputy director general at the Otobreda concern.

The Stalowa Wola Steel Plant is also beginning to mount new turrets with Swedish Bofors cannon and Howitzer-type guns.

Then there is the Jez combat vehicle, designed for air-landing and mechanized troops. Mounted on the chassis of a cross-country Mercedes is a gun carriage with an NSW [expansion unknown] high-caliber 12.7-mm machine gun from the Tarnow Steel Plant, a Fagot armor-piercing ensemble, and a launcher for Strzala antiaircraft missiles. The Jez, which is to be made by plants in Glowno that belong to the Industrial-Capital

Sobieslaw Zasada Centrum SA, is presented as an entirely Polish-made product.

The Niewiadow, Mesko, and Lucznik rifle and ammunition plants already are manufacturing Commando-type light mortars and carbines with grenade launchers that meet European standards. Nico Pyrotechnik, the leading German manufacturer of training ammunition, is negotiating the establishment of cooperation with Polish plants.

The situation in the aviation industry is the poorest. As is known, some 300 MiG-21's will have to be replaced with better fighter planes. This also applies to SU-22 M4 assault planes and TS-11 Iskra training planes. There are no successors to these planes. The Polish arms industry is incapable of designing and manufacturing a modern fighter plane. The attempts made to assemble a hybrid MiG-a 29 from Polish and Russian parts are pointless.

As regards training aircraft, there is a war on between the Mielec Aviation Industry Plant, the maker of the Iryda jet, and the Okecie Aviation Industry Plant, the maker of the Orlik turboprop. Since each side is critical of the other, the military has purchased only a few Orliks and Irydas, and there is no export market for them. The work on the PZL [Aviation Industry Plant] W-3 Huzar helicopter, designed for air cavalry units, is proceeding at a snail's pace. Following the rupture of negotiations with South Africa's Denel and Israel Aircraft Industries, the fire-guidance system for that helicopter is to be developed by Elbit, an Israeli company. The PZL W-4 light army helicopter, whose designing began in 1989, will start flying no earlier than 1997.

Western Arms Makers Swarm In

Western arms concerns now view the Polish market as attractive and are attempting to appear in it not only as partners of Polish plants but also as arms suppliers. The Swedes are especially active. The Celsius industrial group is offering Goeteborg-type frigates and corvettes, submarines, armor-piercing ensembles, ammunition, and Bofors cannon. The Hagglunds company, which offers CV90 and BV2065 transporters, wants to join the domestic bidding for a multipurpose combat vehicle for the Polish Army. Negotiations intended to equip Polish aviation with the JAS 39 Gripen fighter aircraft have been underway with the Saab-Scania concern for two years. (The Hungarians have already signed with that concern a memorandum of understanding for a similar transaction.) Saab also wants to sell to Poles the Saab 340 AEW&C [expansion unknown] aircraft, which is equipped with an Ericsson early warning system. In addition, it is offering RB15 missiles in sea-to-sea, ground-to-air, air-to-ground, and air-to-sea versions.

The Polish market is also of interest to the French, Swiss, and Austrians, who are particularly active in bidding for a wheeled armored transporter for the Polish Army. Also being offered to the Polish Army are the American-Swiss Piranha transporter, the Austrian Pandur, and the joint project by Star and the French concern Panhard. However, the French are more interested in radio-electronic equipment. The French-Spanish Alcatel is a likely winner in the bidding for a communications system for the Polish military, because it is the only one to offer modular radio stations that can be operated both in armored vehicles and in the field, along with a coded communications system for telephone and field networks. That system has just recently been adopted for equipping the German Bundeswehr. The French also are offering their already famous Exocet missiles. Following the war in the Persian Gulf these missiles, so lethal to shipping, were classified as strategic goods. Thus, the French offer demonstrates the extent of interest in the Polish market. Also interesting are Czech offers of light arms: The LCZ [expansion unknown] concern is offering its LCZ-B10 and 20 carbines, its LCZ-B40 grenade launcher, and its LCZ-B30 antitank missile launcher.

It Could Be Better

Aside from the aviation sector, the arms industry is beginning to convert to NATO standards. This process is not without snags (problems with the General Staff's permission to recalibrate infantry arms to NATO standards), but the arms and ammunition being made on the basis of new designs are ceasing to differ from those used in the West.

It is interesting that it was the "doomed" armored equipment sector that coped best with the situation. As for the aviation sector, which has its protectors in the nation's capital (Deputy Minister of Industry Roman Czerwinski), it continues to be crisis ridden and plagued by infighting.

There is no doubt that, despite the major advances scored by the arms industry, the presence of Western equipment in the Polish Army will be necessary. As to what extent, that will become known in the next five years.

Romania: Vacaroiu Interviewed on Cabinet Reshuffle

AU1901213096 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 96

["Excerpt" from an "exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu by Bucharest Radio Correspondent Nicolae Rucareanu in Bucharest on 19 January 1996—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rucareanu] How would you describe this government reshuffle?

[Vacaroiu] First, it is a reshuffle dictated by the period we are going through, I am referring to the year 1996, the last year of this government. We have several special duties to carry out to fully accomplish our government program, which was sanctioned by the Romanian Parliament.

I would like to point out from the very beginning that this reshuffle has been made on request of the ministers in question. I am referring both to Trade Minister Petru Crisan and Industry Minister Dumitru Popescu. In the case of the trade minister, I think you are aware of the entire set of problems, they were aired by the press, too; namely, that he is a shareholder with very many companies and, to eliminate any kind of suspicion and to prevent creating the image that all members of our cabinet are company owners or shareholders, Mr. Petru Crisan requested that he should be allowed to return to the business world. I accepted that request and therefore I designated, after a period of selection, Mr. Dan Popescu, currently a state secretary at the Ministry of Industry, a man with rich experience and whom we think can deal with the multiple problems that are to face us in 1996.

[Rucareanu] What about the Ministry of Industry?

[Vacaroiu] In the case of the industry minister, the release from office, on his own request, of Mr. Dumitru Popescu—a high-class professional, a person who has worked a great deal over the past three years and supported me in achieving our objectives—may be connected, of course, to the great efforts he has been making, efforts that leave deep traces after three years. He is to go on working as state counselor of the prime minister in charge of energy system issues, in general. In his place, as minister of industry, I designated Mr. Alexandru Stanescu, currently a state secretary at the Ministry of Industry. He is exceptionally well-trained professionally, and he is a person who knows the Romanian economy well and who is dedicated to reform and privatization.

Furthermore, the ministries involved in this reshuffle are very important ones, and the ultimate goal was to lend them more dynamism, to achieve a quality leap in their coordination, so we can accomplish the goals included in our government program for the current year.

Romania: PDSR Bureau Approves Cabinet Reshuffle

AU2001202296 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Executive Bureau [BEC] of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], whose proceedings were held in Bucharest yesterday, approved the cabinet reshuffle proposed by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

Hence, the new minister of trade is Dan Ioan Popescu and the minister of industry is Alexandru Stanescu. Former Minister of Industry Dumitru Popescu was appointed state counselor to the prime minister.

In the coming weeks, the PDSR Permanent Delegation will appoint the new minister of research and technology after Doru Dumitru Palade's resignation.

The following persons have been appointed to the positions of secretary of state that have been vacant at various ministries: Lucian Motiu and Constantin Dicu at the Ministry of Industry; Rodica Stanoiu at the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection; Victor Dumitriu at the Ministry of Tourism; Daniela Bartos at the Ministry of Health; and Cornel Dumitriu at the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

The ministers who were appointed yesterday will take the oath this morning before President Ion Iliescu.

Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu told our radio station that the cabinet reshuffle was dictated by the period that we are currently going through, since the year 1996 is the last year of the government and the current reshuffle has been made on request by the respective ministers.

The cabinet reshuffle provoked a uniform reaction among opposition parties.

The presidents of the National Liberal Party, the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention, the Liberal Party '93, and the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party stated that the current cabinet reshuffle is nothing but a cosmetic change to the image of the government prior to the electoral year.

Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention, said that the reshuffle cannot change the ill-fated policy promoted by the government and that the solution would be a government of the Democratic Convention, our reporter Maria Cristea informed us.

Referring to the proceedings of the PDSR Central Executive Bureau, the PDSR executive president, Adrian Nastase, said, in an interview granted to our station, that the agenda also included priority activities of the government for the first quarter of this year, the organization and unfolding of the process of registering the ownership titles, the distribution of ministers in counties to coordinate this process, the PDSR's major foreign policy orientations, as well as aspects referring to the electoral campaign and the situation of the party in provinces.

Romania: Diaconescu Elected PNTCD President

AU1901212796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening, during today's proceedings of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD] congress, they elected Mr. Ion Diaconescu as the president of that party. The results of the ballot were announced at about 2100 hours as follows: There were 703 votes, of which 13 were annulled; 539 votes were in favor of Ion Diaconescu, while 151 endorsed Ion Ratiu.

Immediately after the results were made known, Mr. Ion Ratiu insisted on being the first person to congratulate the newly elected president. Mr. Ratiu said that for the services done to the party, for his moral life, and for the fact that he has been leading the party over the past years, Mr. Ion Diaconescu deserves this office.

Mr. Ratiu expressed his wish that the president-elect will lead the party to win power to serve the interests of the Romanian people.

In turn, Mr. Diaconescu thanked the delegates for the confidence they displayed in him, emphasizing that his election does not represent a vote favoring the man Ion Diaconescu, but rather the unity and political continuity of the PNTCD.

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Diaconescu addressed an appeal to the PNTCD, wishing that 1996 will match the most glorious moments of the party, our correspondent reports.

Romania: Senate Group Will Not Back PRM's Tudor

AU2201145196 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 18 Jan 96 p 2

[Report by AMPRESS: "C.V. Tudor Will Say Goodbye to the Position of Senate Secretary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Group in the Senate will not vote for Corneliu Vadim Tudor [president of the Greater Romania Party—PRM] for any position in the Permanent Bureau of this Chamber of the Romanian Parliament in the next session, said the leaders of the ruling party. They cannot even imagine that the PRM Senator will ask for PDSR support to occupy the Senate secretary position again, taking into consideration his harsh attacks against the leaders and the activity of the ruling party in general.

Federal

FRY: Spokesman Dismisses Joining PFP Program

LD2101200296 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1937 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 21 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Ivica Dacic said he thought personally the idea that Yugoslavia should join NATO's Partnership For Peace Program was not a good one.

"Serbia and Yugoslavia must not make any decisions that might limit state integrity, sovereignty and national independence," Dacic said at TANJUG's Panel Talk.

Dacic said the SPS had not yet taken a stand on the initiative launched late last year by New Democracy, the SPS's coalition partner in the Serbian Government, said Dacic.

FRY: Government Proposes Restoring Ties With EU

LD1901174296 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1649 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic Friday proposed to the European Union to restore its ties with Yugoslavia.

In a letter to President of the European Union Commission Jacques Santer, Kontic proposed restoration of all forms of cooperation and ties between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the E.U.

One of the foreign policy priorities of Yugoslavia as a European and Mediterranean country is to become a part of an integrated Europe as early as possible, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

Yugoslavia is confident that the E.U., and its member-states individually, will judge adequately Yugoslavia's peaceful and constructive policy, the statement said.

It said that a full normalization of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the E.U. was expected.

The statement expressed a wish for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the E.U. to restore ties on the basis of an agreement signed between the former Yugoslav Federation and the European Community back in 1980, so that the process of Yugoslavia's integration in European institutions could start.

FRY: Belgrade on Possible Hague Tribunal Office

AU1901205496 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES
in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jan 96 p 3

[Report by "S.S.": "The Hague in Belgrade After All?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hague Tribunal could in the foreseeable future open some kind of office in Belgrade. Steps in that direction are, for the time being, kept well away from the public, but as POLITIKA EKSPRES has learned exclusively, Belgrade and The Hague are looking for the modalities of cooperation that would, in the first instance, reconcile two extreme stands: obligations undertaken by the signing of the Dayton agreement and our government's stand that it does not recognize the jurisdiction of this court.

Tribunal representative Deyan Mikhov, a Bulgarian citizen who used to serve in the UN's civil mission in Sarajevo, has recently visited Belgrade for that reason. The aim of his visit to Belgrade was to contact our authorities and obtain consent for opening an office.

Although there is no official information about this yet, we have learned that the federal government intends to start talks soon on the modalities of cooperation with the Tribunal. This measure, as pointed out, does not indicate a serious turnabout in the interpretation of the constitutional provisions, which do not allow the extradition of our citizens, but is opening the door to better exchange and collection of information on crimes committed against the Serb population, about which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has a much better documentation than The Hague.

FRY: FRG Denies Transport Agreement Signed

LD2101143796 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1409 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—the German Embassy in Belgrade has presented to TANJUG a statement saying a minutes of the meeting and not an inter-state agreement had been signed at the talks between German and Yugoslav delegations on transport of goods and passengers, held in Bonn on Jan 16 and 17.

The initial report about this meeting broadcast by TANJUG spoke about an inter-state agreement on the transport of passengers and goods.

During the talks between German and Yugoslav transportation officials, details were considered regarding the normalization of transport of goods and passengers between the two countries.

At the end of the talks, as is the usual practice at such meetings, the delegation heads signed minutes of the meeting, and not an agreement, said the German Embassy statement.

FRY: Trade With Albania Normalized

LD1901170496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1334 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Jan. 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Albania have resumed trade exchange, which stopped after the imposition of the sanctions on Yugoslavia in May 1992, customs officers in the Montenegrin capital Podgorica said on Friday.

First quantities of goods crossed the Bozaj border crossing near Podgorica on Friday, the sources said.

The Albanian Government reached a decision to suspend the sanctions against Yugoslavia last year, but its implementation was delayed because of a misunderstanding between Albanian border customs and police organs, head of the Podgorica customs office Miodrag Radusinovic said.

During the sanctions, passenger traffic between Yugoslavia and Albania never stopped and intensive local border traffic functioned across the Bozaj border crossing.

FRY: Slovene Plans for Debt Repayment Rejected

AU1901154396 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 96 p 11

[Report by B.V.: "National Bank of Yugoslavia Will Topple Slovenia's Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana's belief that the permission granted it by the Consortium of International Merchant Banks in New York regarding the separate payment of a part of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia's [SFRY] debt, assumed in 1988, represents a crucial turnabout in the succession process is pure illusion. The preliminary agreement between Slovenia and the consortium cannot be implemented unless the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] approves such an agreement, claims Professor Dragana Gnjatovic, member of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Succession Group.

According to the 1988 contract signed between the SFRY and the Consortium of International Banks, the NBJ is a party to the contract and guarantor of all activities linked to the agreement. International contracts are sacred, and this particular one is still in force. The NBJ will react and remind the consortium who is actually a party to the contract. None of the Yugoslav republics can do anything without the permission of the NBJ, Professor Gnjatovic told VESTI. Professor Gnjatovic is a member of the Yugoslav delegation at the Conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva.

The NBJ, our collocutor explained, was not in a position to cooperate with the Consortium during the sanctions, that is, it was unable to fulfill its obligations in the name of the former Yugoslav republics. Now it is only a matter of days when this cooperation will be "reestablished."

Serbia

Serbia: SPS Spokesman on Elections, Foreign Policy

LD2101140696 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 21 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Ivica Dacic, spokesman of the [ruling] Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS, headed by Serbian President Milosevic], told the "TANJUG's Guest" round table that regular elections on federal and local levels would be held in the second half of this year and in Serbia when the mandate of the deputies in the republican assembly expires.

Dacic said that it should become normal for elections to be held when the mandate of parliamentary deputies expires and that, for the first time since the introduction of the multi-party system in Serbia, we were now in a position to hold regular parliamentary elections.

Dacic said that the SPS was never afraid of elections and that since 1990, when it was founded, it had always emerged triumphant. He expressed his belief that this year the socialists would be even more successful than in the last elections and that all of the potential of the SPS and the idea of the left would be demonstrated. According to him, this year's most important SPS tasks are the consolidation of peace, economic revival, a better standard of living, the resumption of the policy of ethnic equality, cultural development, and the fight against crime.

Speaking about foreign policy tasks, he mentioned the consolidation of peace in the territory of former Yugoslavia, the implementation of the peace plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the renewed efforts to strengthen cooperation between Balkan states and nations.

The Socialists' most important domestic tasks will be the economic recovery of the country—meaning a better standard of living, stabilization of the economic situation, and the pursuit of market economy principles, accompanied by a policy of social justice, which is the main characteristic of economies in modern societies, Dacic said.

He mentioned the need for internal political stability and said he expected most of the political parties to make a creative legislative contribution instead of obstructing state bodies and trying to take power by staging street protests—characteristic of the opposition over the past years.

According to him, the SPS will be particularly engaged in combating crime that had been stimulated by the climate of war and international sanctions.

"I hope that the establishment of peace and the suspension of sanctions will create conditions for the eradication of crime and the annulment of the effects caused by war profiteers and the illegal accumulation of wealth," he said.

Dacic added that the task of the state and the political parties taking part in legislative activities was to adopt laws and system decisions that would prevent financial and all other types of crime.

"With its initiatives, the SPS will play a leading role in the decriminalization of our society in all its sections, because our standpoint has always been that no one who has a state, political, party, business, or any other function, can avoid legal sanctions for criminal acts."

The third [SPS] congress scheduled for 2 and 3 March 1996 should, according to Dacic, reaffirm the consistent and principled SPS policy of peace, which has shown that peace is the best way to protect our national and state interests without the unnecessary suffering of the people, which is very rare in the history of the Serb people.

"The party program will not be changed because it has survived all tests and challenges of the time. There will be some smaller changes in the statute aimed at finding a more efficient way to organize the party," Dacic said.

A document named "Serbia 2000—A Step Into the New Century" will be adopted at the congress, Dacic said and added that it would define the program goals and the SPS political standpoints in a condensed way. It will also set out a clear vision of our economic development on the eve of the new century, he said.

"We will define the SPS even more clearly as a party of the modern and authentic left, striving to lead Serbia in the creation of a democratic, modern, wealthy, and just society," he said.

Dacic said that an important quality of the party was the fact that it was able to notice and eliminate its weaknesses and added that the congress was an opportunity to carry out changes in the [SPS] leaderships at all levels.

"The changes must be based on the principle of competence, honesty, attitude toward ideology and peace, and readiness to enter the political struggle," Dacic said.

He explained that personnel changes would involve those who had never identified themselves with the SPS as a party of the left, those who used the party to achieve their own goals, those who obstructed the party policy, and those who had the courage only to enter into polemics with similar parties of the left and not with the right, "thus causing considerable political damage to the SPS and the entire left."

"We feel that it is very important to avoid conflict among the parties of the left because all of us are trying to create a society founded on ideas of the left," Dacic said.

Speaking about the opposition scene in Serbia, he said that the greatest propaganda against opposition parties came from their own ranks.

"In the aftermath of the peace agreement many parties have returned to the old type of the struggle against the ruling party—obstructing the parliament and announcing that they will take to the streets, that is to say, that they will take power forcibly," Dacic said.

He drew attention to "envy between the opposition leaders, their dictatorial behavior in their parties, the lack of internal party democracy, and constant changes in their political standpoints."

"When one compares such [opposition] politicians and political parties with the political significance and the political capital of the SPS, it is clear that a party that has this kind of opposition has no reason to worry about its future," Dacic said.

"The SPS should continue to be the ruling political party with the dominant political influence," he said, and added that in their aspiration to lead Serbia on a path to progress, the Socialists were prepared to cooperate with parties of the left and democratic parties of the center but not with parties of the right.

He welcomed new parties of the left because the SPS "cannot be present in the whole area encompassed by the left."

Commenting on relations between the ruling parties in Montenegro and Serbia, he said that the SPS and the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS, ruling Montenegrin party] "have a firm program commitment to coexistence in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a federation based on the principles of equality of its citizens and the equality of its federal entities, i.e., the peoples of the FRY."

"Certain problems in the functioning of the federation and differences regarding certain political issues cannot be interpreted as a threat to the survival of the Yugoslav federation," Dacic said. He pointed out that "the talk of an alleged change in the federal Constitution is aimed at sowing the seeds of discord between Serbia and Montenegro," and added that there had been no initiative to change the federal Constitution.

"All this talk about Montenegro not being equal with Serbia or vice versa does not contribute to the coexistence of the two people and the two republics in their common state," Dacic said.

Commenting on the issue of Kosovo-Metohija [Kosmet], Dacic expressed his satisfaction with some world powers' stance that this is an internal issue of Serbia and the FRY. "We see it as a positive fact that the issue of Kosmet was not mentioned as a topic of peace talks in Dayton and Paris," he said.

According to him, the SPS never disputed the exercise of human rights and freedoms of the Albanians in Kosmet, but the fact that the leading local Albanian political parties advocate the secession and threaten our country's territorial integrity.

He recalled that the existing constitutional solutions provide for broad national minorities rights, and stressed that the SPS stances "were never the reason for the Albanians' decision not to exercise the rights guaranteed them by the Constitution."

Talks on promoting rights and freedoms of national minorities, he added, have never been controversial, and they should aim at solutions that would ensure that the Albanians again start exercising their rights in education, the health service, economy, culture, and other spheres, as well as the political freedoms they are not exercising because they are not taking part in the elections and the state's political life in general.

Dacic said that the Albanians have again showed interest for joining the SPS, and said that this was a good presage for the possibility of reestablishing normal communications in Kosovo- Metohija and peaceful coexistence of all citizens, regardless of their nationality.

Speaking about privatization, the SPS spokesman recalled that at its first congress the party espoused the market economy as the basis of the economic system, improved with the introduction of elements of social justice and the equality of all types of ownership.

"We have always understood the change in the ownership structure as a means of making the economy more efficient and society richer and more just, and we have always believed that privatization cannot be carried out without money. Everything else would be forcible privatization and pure theft of social capital created over decades," he said.

Dacic stressed that the objections that the SPS is slowing down privatization were unfounded. He said that the party "has preserved our national wealth from destruction and a sell-off, as it has happened in eastern European countries."

He announced that the federal [Yugoslav] assembly will this year tackle a whole series of economic laws, such as the law on companies, on ownership structure, on strikes, and on employment relations.

Dacic said that a change of the ownership structure cannot be an aim in itself, done only for political reasons, but it should be based on the market value of social capital.

According to him, there are differences in the SPS and Montenegro's DPS views on privatization, "but they are not essential and can be overcome."

Dacic explained that the SPS stance is that no socially-owned company can be privatized by force, if it works well and if the workers in the company do not want it to be privatized.

Commenting on the new democracy initiative in the FRY assembly that our country should join the Partnership for Peace program, he said that the SPS "has not yet taken a stance on the issue."

"My personal opinion is that this is a bad suggestion because Serbia and the FRY must not make any decisions that can limit our state integrity, sovereignty, and national independence," Dacic said.

"Serbia and the FRY have preserved their independence throughout the time of crisis, why should they limit it at the end," he asked and added that this suggestion, "in the general climate of infatuation with the West, does not give due consideration to our national and state interests, the tradition of our nation, the price of joining, and a possible end."

Speaking about SPS international activity, he recalled numerous contacts the party had made with foreign parties between the two congresses, especially during the international blockade of our country. "It has been announced that many foreign delegations will attend our congress."

"Our program platform is very close to the program of the Socialist International, and we expect to have more intensive contacts with the leaders of that organization, also in connection with the issue of our membership in that international political organization," SPS spokesman Dacic said at the end of the TANJUG's guest round table.

Serbia: DSS Says SPS Forces Citizens To Join

AU1801175496 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 96 p 5

[Report by V.R.: "Frightening SPS Troikas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vranje—The preelectoral activities of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in villages in Vranje Municipality are in full swing. The ruling party activists have lately been touring villages in the vicinity of Vranje. Grouped into "troikas" they go to farms and ask a concrete question: "Do you support Slobodan Milosevic?" The surprised and frightened peasants usually say yes so as not to find themselves on the list of "anti-state elements," after which they are immediately made members of the SPS and given a membership card. This is stated in yesterday's statement issued by the municipal organization of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] in Vranje. According to the information of this opposition party, there are parallel lists with the names of those village inhabitants who answered the question in the negative. "By using such methods to frighten the population, the SPS representatives are themselves admitting that their rating has decreased significantly in southern Serbia and that they will do anything to hold on to their obviously shaky position," states the statement issued yesterday by the Vranje DSS municipal organization.

Serbia: Official Announces Crackdown on Crime

AU2101213896 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 96

[Report by Sonja Djuric—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Djuric] The Serbian attorney general, Mr Dragan Petkovic, with whom we discussed the functioning of the attorney general's office as—let me use a definition from the legal textbooks—one of the pillars of any law-governed state, believes that the scope of tasks facing this institution in 1996 can best be gauged by the fact that from 1991 to 1995, when a blind eye was turned to certain procedures under the pretext that people had to survive somehow, almost a million criminal charges were brought with the prosecutors' offices in Serbia. Criminality was established beyond doubt in 450,000 cases, and this does not include the cases in which perpetrators were unknown. Approximately 200,000 legal cases were opened and sentences passed. Crime against property dominated over the past few years. Two-thirds of all crimes comitted were robbery and theft. Even though a more rigorous application of the law is being announced now, whereby even the actions that have been tolerated until yesterday will he prosecuted, the Serbian attorney general nevertheless expects a gradual decline in crime because its fundamental causes—war and sanctions—were removed.

[Petkovic] It was very easy to enter our country and bring in arms. By stealing a car the criminals could be in another country within 24 hours. The border was permeable for criminals. Naturally, these things have changed now.

We especially analyzed the realm of economic crime and we noted that the percentage of increase in criminal charges was minimal. However, it is blatantly obvious that these crimes are numerous. The most important thing at the moment, I believe, is to define as quickly as possible the fate and the status of private property and social property. We, the prosecutors, are naturally not opposed to property transformation, society will go its own course, the country....

[Djukic, interrupting] Therefore, you are protecting the one and the other?

[Petkovic] Absolutely, they both enjoy equal treatment, but there must be some elementary control over social property. The social assets are being fragmented through, let me say, criminal coexistence with private assets. You see, people cannot become rich unless they have committed embezzlement in social enterprises. This process must be halted. How? Through strict and rigorous control and, naturally, also by prevention and by opening criminal cases against all those who have wronged social assets.

Second, the gray economy is also a considerable field. This is also a consequence of the situation in society imposed on us by sanctions. The state and also the jurisdiction in a way tolerated this, a sort of parallel economy to allow survival of companies, banks, and private people. However, now we truly see no reason to tolerate these occurrences any longer.

[Djuric] The public prosecutors evidently have a special role and responsibility in protecting constitutionality and legality, protecting rights, liberties, and safety of individuals and all types of property, however, only if other factors that facilitate legal functioning of the state are equally involved. As State Attorney Petkovic says, the judicial decisions are ultimately the measure of value of the prosecutors' work, just as the decisions of the prosecutors are a measure of the quality of the work of services whose duty it is to uncover the perpetrators of criminal acts.

Serbia: Unions Say State Ignores Economic Problems

AU1201144996 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 96 p 8

[Report by N. Stojcevic: "Patience at an End"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the suspension of sanctions, the last alibi for increasing economic and social difficulties has been eliminated. Yugoslavia's opening up to the world and Program II of the country's economic recovery suggest options in economic development with regard to new conditions. Instead of the economic policy pursued so far, based on a strategy of making both ends meet, workers are rightfully expecting a better life. However, according to an assessment of the Association of Independent Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [SSSJ], developmental projects can no longer be based on low wages, nor can economic efficiency be achieved under such circumstances so that workers will consistently and resolutely oppose such a policy. "After the initial enthusiasm and optimistic forecasts, it is becoming more and more visible that the Yugoslav economy and state have welcomed the suspension of the sanctions unprepared," Dragan Radulovic, chairman of the SSSJ Council, says, and continues: "Our drastically impoverished and materially exhausted economy is not showing enough capacity to adequately answer to challenges of the international economic contest. We do not have the necessary circulating and investment capital, energy products, or raw or reproduction materials, and we also do not have a real market or buying power."

A Difficult Year

"Losses in economy are extremely high and speak for rapid erosion of firms' substances. The country's national debt exceeds by far the frames of the finished national product," Radulovic points out.

Warning of the possibility of transferring negative economic flows into the next year as well, the SSSJ Council assesses that inflation has exceeded 100 percent in the first nine months of 1995, while industrial production, instead of the planned 9 percent, has increased by 2 percent at the most, compared with the year before last. In addition, the number of workers on forced vacations is not decreasing, and it is not known what will happen with acts and decrees by which their status is supposed to be regulated.

"The announced budget estimates indicate that inflation in 1996 will be greater than last year, while instead of expected easing of taxes and cuts in public spending, economy and impoverished workers will face even greater burdens. Instead of consistent and outright measures of economic politics, the governments are still not showing a willingness to economize, or to make the necessary reassessment of public spending in order to successfully deal with acute economic and social problems," Radulovic maintains.

Who Will Pay the Price?

All this, according to the assessment of the SSSJ Council, threatens to further deteriorate social problems and endanger already well-impoverished workers even more. And their tolerance, SSSJ members say, has its limits. The economic and social price of postponing the resolution of acute problems is already too high, and will be even higher. Workers are sure they will not be able to pay that price, particularly not with the average salary, being two and a half times lower than the existential minimum.

[Box, p 8] "Instead of working on new ownership relations and transformation of economy, we are still holding academic debates on goals and methods of transition. A dualism in the Yugoslav economy is still being tolerated, and we are doing nothing to prevent monopolistic behavior. Internal blockades are proving themselves more stubborn and persistent than the international sanctions. They are strongholds of overt, as well as covert, resistance to the implementation of the model of open, market economy with a strong social dimension and protection of basic economic, social and working rights of employees," SSSJ Council Chairman Radulovic points out.

Serbia: Reasons for Short-Term Budget Cuts Detailed

AU2001214696 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 96

[Interview with Serbian Finance Minister Dusan Vlatkovic by Dragan Stojev; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Stojev] To support the Program 2 economic recovery plan, the Serbian Government determined the budgetary expenditure [in the first quarter of 1996] at 33.2 percent, which is less than the annual average. What does this mean in reality?

[Vlatkovic] To maintain the stability of the exchange rate and prices in 1996 we must, also by reducing the overall budgetary and public expenditures especially in the first quarter of the year, keep the use of resources determined by the parliament and other funds not at one quarter of the annual expenditure, but at a level that is below this. We were of the opinion that due to market disturbances, especially concerning prices, we should radically cut this expenditure in the first quarter as much as possible. That is why we determined the expenditure that is a quarter lower than it would have been had we divided the annual expenditure into four parts.

[Stojev] Although you anticipate a smaller expenditure, will the beneficiaries of social benefits, social care for children, and social and disability insurance not suffer the consequences of this harsher budget policy?

[Vlatkovic] Adopting this level of budget expenditures in the first quarter, which is lower than the one established by the Law on the Budget, the government simultaneously concluded that even in such circumstances we should ensure priority for the obligations that must be met in the realm of social benefits and, naturally, for the requirements of public services connected to salaries, education, and other activities.

[Stojev] What are the results of the Program 2 economic plan in the financial realm?

[Vlatkovic] The initial results are positive regardless of the fact that one of the key requirements for realizating Program 2 is complete price stability. However, following the shift in the exchange rate of the dinar and after sorting out the cash flow problem of the banks and a portion of the economy that was insolvent, prices have changed to a degree as a result of the need for a correction in the price parity.

We can say that we restored the solvency in banks now, that the exchange rate is stable and free of pressures for its increase, and that the foreign currency reserves are growing as a result of the sale of foreign currency for dinars. However, simultaneously we are encountering great pressure to use credits to finance production—this is all production geared toward export—while we have not solved the problem of financing the spring sowing yet.

Therefore, one of the first priorities will be that the National Bank, together with the federal and both republican governments, finds a way of better crediting the export-oriented industry and a portion of the agricultural industry, naturally, from the sources that will not generate currency without coverage.

Serbia: Finance Minister on Economic Stabilization

LD2001160396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1509 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Production is growing, foreign exchange rate is stable and reserves have been increased, and the solvency of banks has improved, Serbian Finance Minister Dusan Vlatkovic told Belgrade daily POLITIKA Saturday, describing the first results of the economic stabilization program 2.

Vlatkovic did not deny there had been market disruptions in the past month, mainly due to the rise of some prices. Serbian Government believes this to be unjustified and caused by inflationary expectations 'for which there is no valid reason.' Some prices however had to increase following the modification of the exchange rate in order to correct disparities, he added.

Regardless of market disruptions, Vlatkovic believes there is no reason to fear that prices will continue to grow, but expects them to stabilize.

In order to achieve the program 2 goals, Serbian Government has decided to further reduce public spendings in the first quarter by about one billion dinars (one German mark—3.3 dinars), Vlatkovic announced.

He however warned that the 15 percent rise in wages last December exceeded the real capacity of the economy, recalling that the average wage when program 1 was introduced in 1994 amounted to the equivalent of 60 German marks and that it has now reached 150 marks. This limit must not be exceeded until economic activity improves, in order to protect funds needed for achieving production growth, he said.

Serbia: TV To Schedule Less Politics

AU1901073296 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 96 p 9

[Report by "N.B.": "More Entertainment—Less Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The programming scheme of Radio and Television of Serbia will be changed as of 1 February, we have officially learned from this house's information service. As the information service still cannot say what kind of changes are to be expected, NASA BORBA has learned unofficially that novelties in the program will not be strictly linked to changing from the winter scheme to the summer one, but rather with the arrival of new personnel.

According to NASA BORBA's sources, one of the first "victims" of the new television setup will be the "Serbia Today" program, which was being shown on the First Channel every day except Sunday when it was shown on the Second Channel at lunchtime. The program mostly dealt with exceptional economic, cultural, and social successes Serbia had "despite the unjust and undeserved" sanctions.

During the coming period, viewers will be offered much more entertainment in the form of sports events of all kinds. It was announced that one day on television will be devoted exclusively to soccer.

Regarding personnel changes in the country's most important media house, the ARGUMENT biweekly says in its last issue that Nenad Ristic, former Belgrade Television director, and Marina Rajevic-Savic, journalist of the Third Channel, have been "paking their bags." According to the paper, Ristic should be appointed director of the Stankom Television, which should begin broadcasting this year. The same source claims that Marina Rajevic is threatened with dismissal because she allegedly refused a task.

The NASA BORBA source says that there is an extreme interest among the employees in having Dusan Mitevic (presently adviser in BK Telekom) back as director because wages used to be very good during his tenure.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova on Absence from Political Meeting

LD1901193096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 19 January (BETA)—Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosovo Albanians, said today that a meeting of Albanian political leaders was a positive step, but that as a leader he did not have to be present at every meeting.

"A political meeting organized by one party is a positive step in efforts to solve problems, but this does not mean that the president has to attend every meeting," Rugova said at a press conference.

With regard to the belief that his participation was a condition for the meeting—which began in Pristina on 15 January and then was interrupted—to proceed, Rugova said that "one should not overdramatize the situation." The leader of Kosovo Albanians said the amnesty law should include Albanians as well, and that he would demand of Western European countries that they influence the Yugoslav authorities in this respect. [passage omitted]

Rugova described "the ever increasing interest of international factors in Kosovo after Dayton" as "an important step in creating a climate for the beginning of dialogue between Albanians and Serbs, with mediation by a third party."

"What is important is that dialogue should begin and develop into a process," Rugova said, and repeated the demand for repression in Kosovo to stop.

Kosovo Albanians requested that the United States be given a decisive role in solving the Kosovo problem, but Rugova said that the special working group, led by Geert Ahrens, which operates within the Geneva Conference on Former Yugoslavia, could be of great help.

Kosovo: Rugova Urges U.S. 'Leading Role'

AU2101162996 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 20 Jan 96

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a communique by the Kosova Information Center, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova briefed the chairmen of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] branches on the stance maintained by foreign diplomats in the Kosova capital last week and the talks he held with them. Rugova said that their frequent visits to Kosova present another testimony to the international community's interest in Kosova. Rugova also pointed out that these visits and meetings are a testimony that the international factor closely follows the situation in Kosova and respects our political and state organization, also seeking a solution to the Kosova issue.

Within this framework, President Rugova spoke about the stay of Gert Ahrens in Prishtina on behalf of the Group for Kosova at the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia and the meetings he held with the Kosova leadership. It is our opinion that this group may assist in resolving the Kosova issue, Dr. Rugova said.

On this occasion, Dr. Rugova reiterated that, during the stay in the United States, at a meeting with Secretary of State Christopher, he requested that the United States assume the leading role in resolving the Kosova issue and mediate as a third party in the Albanian-Serbian talks. The Kosova leadership, the political parties, and other institutions in Kosova have agreed on a full consensus in implementing, through peaceful means, the political will of the people for independence, expressed in the referendum of 1991, Dr. Rugova stressed.

At the meeting, LDK Deputy Chairman Dr. Fehmi Agani spoke about the possibilities of establishing an equal dialogue with the Serbian side. Meanwhile, he considered Belgrade's propaganda to present Kosova's policy as unjust and unsuccessful, only a Serbian farce to lie to its public. This propaganda has failed and it is failing in face of our organization and cooperation in Kosova, Dr. Agani said.

Committing himself for a greater political unity at a time when the Kosova issue may be up for consideration and solution, Hydajet Hyseni [LDK deputy chairman] said among other things that our policy will not have any other alternative apart from the independent Kosova, for which there exists a full consensus of all the political and state forces in Kosova.

Kosovo: Autonomy Project Called 'Illogical'

AU2101163096 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 20 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We will not accept Kosova being treated only in the aspect of human rights on the international agenda and not as a national issue, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi stressed in an interview for the television diary program in the Albanian-language broadcast by Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] television.

Prime Minister Bukoshi stressed that, even politically, it does not hold ground and it is not proper for the people of Kosova to be told that their autonomy can be ensured and that even further they will remain under Serbia's rule, after so many years of toil, torture, and Serbian state repression.

This is illogical for Albanians, and without considering this, we will further continue our work and activity to accomplish the goals of the Kosovar people. With this, we will show the world that this project of autonomy is a project that a priori is destined to fail.

Asked about when the government and the prime minister will return to Kosova, Dr. Bukoshi said that the government and the prime minister will return to Kosova only when the relevant structures will decide on this, respectively when the Parliament of Kosova or the president will decide on this. For this, there is no dilemma or doubt at all.

Meanwhile, asked about how he considers the Dayton agreement and what has it brought for Kosova, Mr. Bukoshi said that the Dayton agreement is an agreement to stop the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and it is useful for Kosova as well because after the end of war and armed conflicts, greater attention should be paid to resolving the Kosova issue.

Asked about the position of Albanians in Macedonia, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi stated that the Macedonian state can never be stable, a pure state, and have a good perspective if one-third of the population of this state is being discriminated and is treated as citizens of a second-rate order. As long as Albanians have no equal rights with the other citizens, this state has few chances to survive, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi said among other things in the interview for the television diary in the Albanian-language broadcast by Macedonian television.

Kosovo: QIK Reports Turkey To Open Consulate

AU1901191196 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 19 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Referring to well-informed sources, the Kosova Information Center [QIK] reports that Turkey wishes to open a consulate in Prishtina. Sources from Ankara confirm that the opening of the Turkish consulate in Prishtina would help the Kosova citizens to easily communicate with the Turkish business world and establish contacts on the cultural and scientific fields, particularly following the lifting of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Apart from its embassy in Belgrade within the framework of the former Yugoslavia, Turkey had another general consulate in Skopje, which has now turned into the Turkish Embassy in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

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